

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, PRESENTED AT THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THAT SOCIETY, MAY 13, 1842.

LIKE every other great and good work which depends for its success on the force of christian principles, and enlightened public sentiment, the anti-slavery cause has had its difficulties to encounter, and its triumphs to record, during the past year. In meeting the friends of that cause on the present occasion, the Committee express their unwavering confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth over error—of righteousness over injustice—of liberty over slavery; and, commending it to the watchful care, the warm sympathy, the active efforts of the friends of humanity in this country, and, above all, to the Divine blessing to crown it with success, they proceed very briefly to narrate the most material events connected with its history since they last assembled together.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

The slave-trade, so far as its movements can be traced in official and other authentic documents, is but little diminished in its extent. The markets for human beings are still open—the traffic is carried on with great activity—the profits are immense—and it is found, that, just in proportion to the vigour of the means used for its forcible suppression, is the ingenuity of its abettors successfully exercised in carrying it on, and the miseries and mortality of its victims fearfully increased. Cuba and the Brazils are, at the present time, the largest markets for the sale of slaves, and thither a vast multitude of these wretched beings—principally of the male sex, in the prime of their existence—are annually transferred from the continent of Africa, to replace those who have miserably perished under the oppressions of the slave systems of those countries.

If, in consequence of the difficulties to be overcome in procuring and bringing cargoes of human beings to market, the profits of the slave-buyer are less than formerly, those of the slave-seller are greater, and his incentives to pursue his criminal undertakings multiplied.

The ravages of the slave-trade are not confined to the Western Coast of Africa, for the supply of the slave-markets on both the American continents and the West Indies. The eastern coast suffers also. Thence slaves are transported to the Brazils, and to the states bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, through which they find their way into various parts of the east, and even into the British territories in Hindostan. From northern Africa slaves are shipped for the markets in the Levant and Constantinople, where they find a ready sale. The negro states on the borders of Egypt supply that country with wretched beings of the same class. To glut the rapacity of the more civilized portions of the earth, Africa is still compelled annually to yield up an immense number of her children, who are forced into exile and slavery.

The treaties which have hitherto been negotiated by this country with foreign powers for the suppression of this great iniquity, however honourably designed, have, with few exceptions, been flagrantly broken. Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils, have long been under the most solemn engagements to terminate the disgraceful traffic; but the bad faith of these powers has only led to years of painful diplomatic remonstrance and negotiation, with-

out lessening the evil to any great extent. At the present moment Spain is unable, even if she were willing, to fulfil her obligations. Deriving an immense revenue from her colonies, in part from the slave-trade, and threatened with revolt if she listen to the demands of the British government, she hesitates to fulfil her treaties, and to vindicate her own laws and character from the foul dishonour cast upon them. Portugal, without the shadow of a pretence, save her poverty, and consequent inability to keep up her colonial establishments in Africa without it, refuses to carry her treaties for the extinction of the slave-trade into effect, except under such limitations and restrictions as the British government cannot and will not sanction. Brazil is retrograding: her treaties are a dead letter: her authorities connive at the illicit introduction of slaves into all parts of the country; and the greatest efforts are made by some of her leading men to repeal the laws of the empire which make that introduction criminal, and give force to her treaties with Great Britain. Against this flagrant act the British government has earnestly, and hitherto successfully, protested, as a gross violation of her engagements. France refuses to ratify the very treaty which, in conjunction with this country, she proposed to the other great powers of Europe, from the jealousy of her people that England aims, under the cover of philanthropy, at maritime supremacy and the degradation of her flag. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty with any power for the suppression of the slave-trade, and even threatens war if the right of search, in its most qualified sense, be insisted on by the British government. Several of the South American States are temporising; and one of them, Monte Video, has actually evaded her treaty stipulations by importing native Africans into her territory under the name of colonists.

What lies at the root of all this hostility, opposition, and tergiversation on the part of kingdoms and republics, both in the Old and New World, in reference to the benevolent and generous exertions of Great Britain to destroy this evil? The Committee reply in one word—SLAVERY; and they feel confident that, until that mighty evil be extinguished—until the markets for slaves be broken up—it is vain to hope for the suppression of the slave trade.

The flags at present employed in covering this traffic, on the western coast of Africa, are the Portuguese, the United States, and the Spanish. Occasionally the flags of Brazil, Monte Video, France, Sweden, and Hamburg, are used for the same purpose. On the eastern coast we find the flags of Portugal and Brazil, with the occasional assistance of others. The flags of different Arab chiefs also are at present devoted to the same infamous trade. On the northern coast the Sardinian, Greek, Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman flags cover the traffic to the Levant and Turkey; and, it must be confessed, that, although the flag of Great Britain is not prostituted in the same way, her merchants generally, as well as those of the United States, residing in slave-holding and slave-trading countries, or trading to the coast of Africa, furnish the means either in capital or goods by which no small part of this dreadful commerce in mankind is carried on.

In the ports of the United States slavers are built and fitted out, with a full knowledge of the purposes to which they are to be devoted. In those of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, they are also openly prepared for their guilty voyages. Consuls, governors and captains general, ambassadors, ministers of state, and subordinate officers, have hitherto showed no reluctance in availing themselves of the splendid bribes offered them for assisting or conniving at the prosecution of this revolting trade. In fact, it appears that treaties are made only to be broken—that laws are enacted only to be violated; and that Great Britain has stood almost alone in the sincerity of her efforts to suppress the slave-trade, and in the generous—the almost incredible sacrifice of treasure and of life, to accomplish her noble purpose. She has, however, toiled and sacrificed in vain. Her cruisers on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, have not been seconded, to any extent, by those of other powers with whom she is in treaty; and, if she has driven the trade from one part of the coast, it has sprung up in another. "Under such circumstances," then, to use the language of the late secretary for the colonies, "under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard, would be scarcely possible if the whole British navy could be employed for the purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

If it be asked, how is the evil to be overcome? The committee answer again—by the universal abolition of slavery, to promote which great object this Society has been established.

The committee now proceed to call attention to the home and foreign operations of the Society during the past year.

HOME OPERATIONS.

The first subject in point of importance which has engaged the attention of the committee has been

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

It will be recollected that, last year, the committee announced the gratifying fact that the long tried friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, Dr. Lushington, had, at their solicitation, undertaken to bring the question of slavery in the eastern part of the British Empire and its dependencies, under the consideration of the House of Commons. Circumstances, however, over which that honourable gentleman had no control, prevented him from doing so; and at the close of the session he retired from a position in parliament, which he had so long, so usefully, and so honourably occupied. The Committee are convinced that the friends of the anti-slavery cause generally will unite with them in the expression of their deep regret, that it has lost the public services of so distinguished an advocate; and would cherish the hope that others may be raised up who, with equal sincerity and zeal, ability and eloquence, shall plead the cause, and defend the rights, of the suffering and oppressed.

During the election which followed the late dissolution of parliament, the committee actively exerted themselves in diffusing information on slavery in India among the electors, and specially called the attention of all candidates for seats in the House of Commons to the same subject. They followed this up by a memorial to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, which was presented to him by a large deputation, composed of members of the committee and friends from the country, in which they laid before him the condition and the claims of the Indian slave. Subsequently to this interview, a deputation from the committee waited on Lord Ellenborough, then president of the Board of Control, and now governor-general of India; but found that, whilst the subject had not escaped the attention of the prime minister and his colleague, no plan had been matured for securing the object desired. They next turned their attention towards the House of Commons, for the purpose of securing the assistance of hon. members in bringing the case before parliament, and hoped that, as soon as the excitement connected with the great political questions of the day had subsided, the cry of the slave for deliverance would have been heard. In the meantime the report of the law commissioners of India, and other important documents on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in that part of our dominions, have been printed by the House of Commons, and carefully analysed by the committee. The case is therefore ripe for discussion; and they trust they will soon be able to announce that some hon. member is prepared to move that slavery, in whatever form it may exist in any part of the British Empire, shall be immediately and for ever abolished. It is perhaps due to the law commissioners and the late governor-general of India to state, that, although differing very widely in opinion on some points, they unite in various rules and regulations being necessary to mitigate the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition. Lord Auckland, especially, recommends the enactment of a law to diminish the authority and control of the master over his slave, but none of them contemplate its immediate and entire extinction.

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The existence of slavery in Ceylon has long been a subject under the consideration of government, and measures have from time to time been suggested to the authorities of that island, with a view to its abolition; but into these measures none of the successive governors appear to have entered with a sincere desire to accomplish that object. In consequence of this state of things the Committee felt it to be their duty to urge on the attention of the late Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell, the necessity of immediately issuing an order in council (Ceylon being a crown colony) for its entire abolition. In reply to their suggestion, they were informed by him, that the governor of that colony had been called upon "to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in Ceylon, with an expression on the part of his lordship of his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein." What steps may have been taken in consequence the Committee are not at present able to report.

The Committee also memorialized the late board of control on the existence of slavery in Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and province Wellesley, pointing out its deplorable character, and the fact of a slave-trade of an atrocious nature having grown up with it. They pointed out also, that slavery in these settlements had not even the plea of a legal existence, and ought, therefore, to be immediately terminated. Their memorial has been transmitted by the government to the Governor-General of India, and they trust they will soon be able to report that their wishes have been complied with.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The Committee have watched with intense interest the progress of emancipation in the West India colonies, and are happy to report that the general good conduct of the emancipated slaves continues to be deserving of the highest praise. It is evident from the united testimony of the authorities in the colonies, that they are rapidly advancing in intelligence, moral excellence, and, in some instances, in wealth. There are, however, the Committee regret to say, many circumstances existing which prevent the full development of the system of free-labour, and consequently, the general prosperity of the colonies. The want of confidence exhibited by the proprietors of estates or their

agents towards the negroes, and the attempt to coerce labour under a system of freedom, by adjusting a scheme of rents for huts and provision grounds of the most vicious, unreasonable, and oppressive character, and by combinations to reduce the price of labour below its fair and just level, has led to such results as might have been anticipated: the negroes have withheld labour where they could, and have sought refuge from oppression by the purchase of land for themselves. The state of the law and its administration has also had an evil effect. The Committee, however, are happy to say, that, in this respect, much has been done by the home government to soften the rigour and remove the inequalities of the law which recently existed: but still much remains to be done; and they are satisfied that nothing short of a thorough revision of the whole mass of colonial enactments, or rather their supersession by one uniform code of laws and a re-construction of the courts of judicature, will meet the demands of justice, or secure, permanently and efficiently, the rights of persons and of property. Another disturbing cause has been the want of capital to secure labour, or to pay for it regularly and punctually: but for this, cultivation would have been extended in various quarters, and much valuable produce would have been saved from destruction. Another cause which has operated unfavourably has been bad management. By this the committee mean, that the same unbending sternness and violence of manner which characterized the planters during the period of slavery, when the power of the lash was in their hands, has been allowed to actuate their conduct, in too many instances, under the new system. This has begotten opposition and contests which have always ended to the disadvantage of the estates. But, wherever fairness and honesty, tact and good humour, have taken the place of violence and deceit, they have been met by corresponding efforts on the part of the negroes to advance the interests of their employers. It may now be considered an established fact, that, where the greatest liberality has been manifested, there the greatest success has been obtained, and the expenses of cultivation most reduced. The Committee are gratified in being able to state that, with the exception of Demerara, the crops in the colonies generally, for the present and the ensuing year, promise to be much larger than any since the freedom of the negroes has been established. This arises from a better understanding existing between the employers and the labourers; and from the colonies having been blessed recently with more favourable seasons than for several years past, during which droughts, of almost unparalleled duration, destroyed large portions of the crops.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A great, but, as the Committee believe, a fictitious demand for labour has arisen in the colonies. This has led to various schemes of immigration, both of a public and private nature, which have resulted in a large expenditure of money, and a vast waste of human life. Against these schemes they have earnestly protested, and have used their best exertions to limit their extension where they could not prevent them altogether. The Committee are by no means opposed to the spontaneous emigration of free persons to the British Colonies, nor to the unchecked circulation of labour among the colonies themselves; but they have felt it to be their duty, on grounds of humanity, to oppose the emigration of Europeans to them as field labourers, and to warn their countrymen against the delusions attempted to be practised on them by interested men. The melancholy result in the sacrifice of human life among those who were duped, the Committee lament to say, far exceeded their fearful anticipations and will, they trust, prove a beacon of warning in future to the unwary.

The Committee have also opposed the immigration of Coolies, or other Indian labourers, into Mauritius, on the various grounds set forth in their memorials to government, petitions to parliament, and the pamphlets they have circulated on the subject. Feeling the great importance of this subject, they obtained an interview by deputation with the present colonial secretary; and, though they received from Lord Stanley, every assurance, that, should the measure be carried into effect, every regulation should be adopted to prevent the recurrence of the frightful evils which formerly took place, they are satisfied that, to use the language of Lord Auckland, late Governor-General of India, "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty and from their utter ignorance and inexperience."

But, great as are the objections which the Committee feel to the emigration of Europeans and Indian labourers to the colonies, their objection to the peopling of them by the natives of Africa is, if possible, still greater, because, in their opinion, it involves the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, and the inevitable extension of it by others. Free emigration from Africa, is, they believe, utterly hopeless; but the Committee beg to refer, for their general reasons against it, to a short paper they have drawn up and circulated throughout the country on this important subject, entitled *Emigration from Africa to the West Indies*. At the present time there is a parliamentary inquiry going forward, the object of which is to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed scheme. The Committee are watching the progress of this inquiry with deep solicitude, and earnestly call upon their friends to be prepared to resist any measure, the effect of which shall be, directly or indirectly, to give new impetus and vigour to the African slave-trade.

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

In the prosecution of their labours the Committee have felt it to be their duty to draw the attention of the president of the

board of trade to the importance of admitting the produce of free labour, come from what country it may, into full competition with that from the British colonies generally; to the necessity of reducing the duties on free labour sugar, so as to increase its consumption by diminishing its price; and to the propriety of relieving West Indian Commerce from the restrictions which impede its full development and prosperity. These measures, coupled with a really spontaneous immigration, the Committee are persuaded would have the effect of securing an ample supply of tropical productions, at moderate prices, to the people of this country; would increase the revenue; and enable the British planter to compete with the slave-holder in other markets than his own. In support of these views a deputation from the Committee waited upon the Earl of Ripon, and had a long interview with him, and his colleague, Mr. Gladstone, to whom, as well as to Lord Stanley, they subsequently submitted their views on the subject of immigration into the West Indies.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN STATES.

In their last Report, the committee referred to the painful circumstance that British subjects, both at home and abroad, were deeply implicated as the holders of slaves and the abettors of the slave-trade in foreign states. Subsequently to that period they presented a petition to the House of Lords, setting forth at large the facts that had come within their knowledge on the subject, and asked for a committee of inquiry for the purpose of proving them, and for the extension of the laws, if they were not found sufficiently comprehensive for the punishment of all persons so engaged. In an elaborate speech delivered by Lord Brougham, on the presentation of the petition, he gave a luminous exposition of the state of the law relative to the slave-trade; and demonstrated the illegality of most of the cases referred to. That speech the committee printed for general distribution. It is understood that the government have not finally decided upon the course it will be proper for them to pursue, to prevent such disgraceful proceedings in future. They believe, however, there is no indisposition on the part of the present administration, to do what may be necessary to secure the great ends contemplated by the slave-trade abolition act.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

UNITED STATES.

At the last anniversary of the society, the committee announced that their devoted friend Joseph Sturge had felt it to be his duty to proceed to the United States on an anti-slavery mission. After spending some months in that country in various useful and laborious engagements, which the Committee believe have tended greatly to advance the cause of the slave, and to strengthen the bonds of union between the abolitionists of the two countries, he returned hither to renew his labours in promoting the great general object of this society. The particulars of his interesting tour in the United States have been given to the public, in a volume entitled *A Visit to the United States*. From this publication, and from the information subsequently derived from that country, it is quite clear that, whatever division of opinion may have prevented unity of action among the friends of the anti-slavery cause, their principles are rapidly advancing, and their ultimate success is certain. The recent debates and collisions in Congress on the right of petition, in its relation to slavery and its kindred subjects, has awakened the public mind to the enormous power of the pro-slavery party in the legislature and government of the country, and its injurious influence on public liberty, and has begotten a spirit of resistance in the free states which cannot be controlled. Indications that the crisis of the anti-slavery cause is not far distant are not wanting, and its friends are full of confidence that the issue will be in favour of the freedom of the slave.

The Mendian Africans, so long the objects of deep interest to the abolitionists of the United States and of this country, are safely arrived at Sierra Leone, on their way to their families and homes. The Committee feel it to be their duty to record their gratitude to the Earl of Aberdeen for the interest he has taken in their welfare, and for the reception given to them by the authorities of that colony.

The Committee are happy to state that the slaves of the *Oreole*, an American vessel brought into one of the Bahama Islands under circumstances of an extraordinary character, are now in possession of complete freedom. Nineteen of the number stood charged with mutiny and murder, but these have been discharged out of custody by order of the government. Thus by the mere fact of touching the free soil of one of the distant dependencies of this country, one hundred and thirty-five human beings, destined to interminable bondage in the slave-states of America, have become possessed of the rights and immunities of free men. To the great legal authorities, who may be said to have given judgment in their case in the House of Lords, and to the government, the thanks of the friends of freedom and humanity are due for the course they have pursued in this important affair. One thing only remains to be done by the Queen's ministers, and that is peremptorily to resist the demand of the United States' government for compensation for the loss of these slaves.

It appears that the old and favourite project of the slave-holders of the United States, to annex the republic of Texas to the union, is again to be attempted, but the Committee trust only to be defeated. They deeply lament that her Majesty's present advisers are ready to confirm the treaties with that country, entered into by the late government, though not yet ratified; and would hope that, if it be not too late, the subject may be re-considered, and the great question of human liberty be held paramount to mere

commercial advantage, if indeed any advantage can ultimately be derived from wrong-doing.

BRAZILS.

At the suggestions of several devoted friends of this Society, Mr. and Mrs. Pilkington, towards the close of the year 1839, proceeded to the Brazils, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into various matters connected with the system of slavery as existing in that country, and the extent and character of the slave-trade.

From the valuable information collected by him it appears that nearly ONE MILLION of slaves had been introduced into that empire during a period of little more than seven years previous to his arrival—that British subjects were deeply implicated in the slave-trade—that the Brazilian mining companies had their mines wrought principally by slaves, a considerable number of whom were purchased from slavers direct from the coast of Africa, and that their condition, especially in reference to punishments, and want of all means of education, was such as to reflect the greatest disgrace on the directors and share-holders of these companies, with, the Committee regret to say, but few honourable exceptions; and that the general condition of the slave population of that country is extremely wretched and fearfully degraded.

During their sojourn in the Brazils, Mr. and Mrs. Pilkington circulated several thousand anti-slavery publications, and were instrumental in awakening a deep interest in the minds of many persons in the condition of the slave. Though, in the present circumstances of the Brazils, there is much to discourage the friends of abolition, there are also some indications of the progress of the cause of humanity even there. A growing conviction of the danger connected with the importation of large masses of slaves—the better character and cheaper cost of free labour over slave labour and the opposition of many of its distinguished men to the system of slavery, as equally unrighteous and impolitic, lead to the hope, that, whenever the present pro-slavery ministry shall be displaced, some large advances may be made in the cause of abolition.

HOLLAND.

The progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland, is, upon the whole, very encouraging. Since the last meeting of this Society, anti-slavery committees have been formed at Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Groningen. At the solicitation of their friends at Rotterdam, Mr. G. W. Alexander, the treasurer of this society, accompanied by Mr. Scoble, paid a visit to Holland at the close of the last year, for the purpose of intercourse with the friends of the cause there; and, during a tour through the principal cities of that country, they were much gratified by the deep interest felt in the condition of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, and the many public and private opportunities afforded them of advocating their cause. Among the gratifying circumstances which have occurred, the Committee have the pleasure of stating that the Netherlands government have come to the resolution of abandoning the purchase of slaves in Africa, to recruit their military forces in their distant dependencies and colonies.

FRANCE.

The Committee have watched with more than ordinary interest the movements of their anti-slavery friends in France during the past year, inasmuch as they believe that the example of that great country is likely to operate more widely and powerfully than that of any other, on the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world. The Committee indulged the hope at the last anniversary of the society, that the French government would have matured a measure for terminating the existence of slavery in the colonies of France during the present sitting of the chambers. Obstacles, however, appear to have presented themselves, which have not yet been surmounted. Anxious to remove these obstacles, and to prepare the way for an early solution of the question, the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, under the presidency of the Duc de Broglie, invited the various kindred associations in Great Britain and Ireland to send representatives from their bodies to attend the public meeting of the society, proposed to be held in Paris on the 21st of February last, but subsequently postponed to the 7th of March. This invitation of their friends was cheerfully responded to by this society, as well as by the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society, the Edinburgh Anti-slavery Society, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and by the various Anti-slavery Associations established at Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Exeter, Southampton, Oxford, Woodbridge, and Hitchin. The delegates, twenty in number, were most cordially and courteously received; and, although the original design of their friends at Paris could not be realized in the manner at first contemplated, the Committee believe that much good was effected by the presence and exertions of the English delegates, whilst in the French metropolis.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The accession of a liberal government in Spain naturally created, in the minds of the abolitionists of this country, the hope that the bad faith which had, for so many years, marked the conduct of its authorities in relation to the slave-trade, would have ceased, and that there would have been exhibited, on the part of those who now hold the reins of power, a sincere determination to put an end to so great an evil. As yet the committee are not able to report officially what reply has been given to the demand of the British government for the exact fulfilment of the Spanish treaties with this country; but it is understood that the regent either has resisted, or intends to resist the liberation of the slaves illicitly introduced into Cuba and Porto Rico. On this point, however, the Committee trust the British government will be firm, as they are persuaded that this is the only effectual means by which they

can secure the termination of the slave traffic in those colonies. How far the new-born zeal of the authorities in Cuba in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade results from policy or from principle, a short time will probably show; but the Committee, with every desire to augur well of the present movement, cannot anticipate any great result to flow from it, while the government of Spain refuses to vindicate its own laws by enforcing the liberation of all slaves illegally possessed, and thus honourably to fulfil its engagements with Great Britain.

The Committee are decidedly of opinion, that in Cuba a very strong feeling of opposition to the continuance of the slave-trade, exists, especially among the creole or native population; but they regret to say that, except among a few of the most enlightened part of the community in that important colony, there appears no desire for the abolition of slavery itself.

The recent visit of Messrs. G. W. Alexander and Benjamin Wiffen, to Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and Cadiz, in the prosecution of an anti-slavery tour, has afforded them a renewed opportunity of strengthening the hands of the friends of humanity in Spain, and of putting them in possession of information which cannot fail to be of great use to the cause of abolition in that country.

The state of the anti-slavery question in Portugal is not a little singular and interesting. Where least was to be expected of the prevalence of just views and principles, there, Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, who proceeded thither from Spain, found much to encourage them. Several individuals distinguished by their position in society declared themselves the friends of abolition, and were, apparently, much alive to the movements of the question in this country.

The Portuguese government, however, have not as yet, met the just demands of this country, by crushing that branch of the slave-trade hitherto carried on so unblushingly under their flag.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

The Committee regret to say, that they have no communication of interest to report of the progress of the cause of emancipation in Denmark, or Sweden: they cannot believe, however, that the friends of humanity in those countries will allow the question to sleep.

AFRICA AND ASIA—TUNIS.

Turning from the continents of Europe and America, the Committee are much gratified in being able to record the fact, that His Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, in northern Africa, has not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his territories, but has emancipated the slaves which belonged to him, and is using his influence to induce his subjects generally to follow his excellent example. The friends of the abolition cause in Malta have presented to his Highness a congratulatory address on the occasion, and the Committee have felt it to be their duty to forward to him, through the medium of the British government, an address of a similar character, to be presented by the Consul of this country, Sir Thomas Reade, residing there, whose successful exertions in the cause of humanity the Committee would here acknowledge.

MUSCAT.

The Committee have also the pleasure of stating that the Imaum of Muscat has recently entered into treaty with this country, to prohibit the slave-trade in his dominions both in eastern Africa and Asia; and it is not improbable that some, if not the whole, of the Arab chiefs on the borders of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, may be induced to take the same course. The number of slaves supposed hitherto to have been annually exported from the territories subject to the Imaum of Muscat, is estimated at 20,000 annually.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this summary statement connected with the progress of the abolition cause, the Committee rejoice to say, that there is a manifest and rapid advance in the public mind of most countries in favour of the liberty and happiness of mankind. In Africa, on the death of their chiefs, two tribes have declared themselves free. Even Russia is alive to the generous impulse as the Committee find by the recent *Ukase* of the emperor in favour of the serfs of that country; and, although he has not been able to realize all he wished, yet the gratitude of all interested in the welfare of their fellow-men is due to him for what he designed, and the hope is cherished that he may live to see the relics of a tyrannical age and a barbarous people swept from his vast dominions.

The Committee have now the pleasure to announce that, in accordance with the intimation already given to their friends in America and Europe, and in unison with their wishes, the next general Anti-slavery Convention will be held in London, on Tuesday the 13th of June, 1843, to which the friends of the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade, from all parts of the world, are cordially and respectfully invited.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Third Annual Meeting of the above was held in Exeter Hall, on Friday the 13th instant. About 3000 persons were present. On the platform we noticed, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Clifford, Dr. Lushington, Sir George Strickland, Bart., M. P., Edward Stanley, Esq., M. P., Henry Pownall, Esq., Dr. Madden, M. L. J., of Hayti, N. Dunn, Esq., and Isaac Collins, Esq., of the United States, Henry Waymouth, Esq., E. N. Buxton, Esq., J. S. Buckingham, Esq., William Allen, Esq., Joseph Sturge, Esq., G. W. Alexander, Esq., B. Wiffen, Esq., Colonel Nicolls, Dr. Hodgkin, John Candler, Esq., J. Conder, Esq., George Pilkington,

Esq., — Eccleston, Esq., R. Stokes, Esq., John Scoble, Esq., B. R. Haydon, Esq., J. Beldam, Esq., — Sturz, Esq., &c., also the Rev. Messrs. J. Burnet, J. Robinson, R. Munro, J. Carlile, Professor Hoppus, J. Godkin, J. Young, J. Yockney, J. H. Hinton, E. Miall, Dr. Cox, Dr. Russell, J. Glanville, C. Stovel, W. Knibb, W. G. Barrett, S. Green, J. Silver, J. Godwin, Dr. Wright, W. Groser, J. Mirams, W. Spencer, S. Luke, J. Flower, F. Du Croix, &c.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE on taking the chair, said, it will not be necessary for me to state at any length, or in any detail, the objects for which we are met together this day, or the feelings which make those objects, matters of such deep interest to us. The progress which this society has made, and the claims which it has upon your sympathy and attention, will be developed and explained to you by speakers who are more able to do it than myself. Thus much, however, I may say, that the objects for which we are met here to-day, and the feelings which those objects excite, are such as cannot be objected to by any friend of humanity, or by any christian. They are unalloyed by any personal or selfish feelings, and even by any political bias. On the contrary, we are here for objects which must be dear to every philanthropist, to every friend of humanity, and to every christian. The good which this society has done, the necessity for continuing its exertions, and the need of more earnest sympathy and zealous co-operation, will be explained to you very fully; and we will, therefore commence the proceedings by Mr. Scoble reading the report.

J. SCOBLE, Esq., then read portions of the report, which we have given at length elsewhere.

The Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON rose, and said, I am instructed by the committee to propose.

I.—That the report which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. That, G. W. Alexander, be the Treasurer, and J. H. Tredgold the Secretary; and the following the Committee for the year ensuing:—William Allen, Stafford Allen, William Ball, Richard Barrett, John Beaumont, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., Rev. James Carlile, Josiah Conder, Joseph Cooper, J. S. Elliott, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Samuel Gurney, Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M., L. C. Lecesne, Samuel H. Lucas, Right Honorable Dr. Lushington, Richard Peek, Dr. Thomas Price, Jacob Post, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Henry Tuckett, Rev. John Woodwork, and Rev. John Young, A.M.

I confess, in making that proposition, the feeling which is uppermost in my heart is, that notwithstanding all the difficulties we have had to encounter, notwithstanding all the obstacles which have impeded our onward course, yet we now stand in a very different, in a very altered situation from that in which in former times the anti-slavery cause was placed. We have no longer to uphold, to defend, and to maintain the great general principle of liberty to mankind all over the world. In former days we had to show what now is admitted by every Englishman, and maintained by the universal voice of Great Britain, that according to the eternal principles of justice, and the revealed will of God, every man ought to be free, and that slavery itself is a crime. (Cheers). We have not now, then, to defend our objects, we have not now to explain our principles; but we have to call upon you to consider what has been done, what is doing, and to co-operate with us and the friends of liberty, throughout the world, in the attainment of those objects which are dear to us all. When I consider the report which has just been presented—when I see how vain have been the stipulations entered into by foreign states for the suppression of the slave-trade—and when I recollect this melancholy fact, that, where this country has entered into treaties, be it for the maintenance of this possession or that, no foreign state ever dared break the stipulation by which they were bound; yet, where the stipulation is only in favour of humanity, and not for the benefit of this or of that individual country, singular it is, but most melancholy, that of all the treaties formed by this country for the last thirty years past, there is scarcely one but has been in a state of constant violation. (Hear, hear). It is melancholy to remember the greater force and the greater power of obligation when it is for mere temporal advantages, than the solemn obligation to maintain the happiness and the freedom of the civilized world. But, if this be a melancholy picture, and such it is, it arises, I am sorry to say, from two causes, the one the most powerful of all, the love of gain—the other, the state of mind which prevails in other countries upon this subject. There is no such general feeling extant in those countries as exists in England. There is no detestation of the slave-trade, there is no abhorrence of slavery, there is no intense love of liberty, there is no deep sense of the binding obligations of that religion, which, in common with us, they still continue to profess, at the very moment that they violate its most sacred enactments. But while we look with sorrow upon this side of the question, have we not room for rejoicing? An opportunity for exultation, in the contrast which has been presented to the conduct of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils? We have the noble contrast of the Bey of Tunis. (Hear, hear.) We have him, steeped as he may be in prejudices, unaccustomed as he is to the knowledge, the sacred knowledge of the great and most solemn duties which bind mankind the one to the other, and all to their God. We have him, nurtured in slavery, united with a race whose curse has been slavery for years past—we have him breaking all the chains of lucre, prejudice, and iniquity, and setting an example to the christian world which may well make them blush, while he rejoices in the superiority of his own morals (Cheers). But believe not that this example will be without its force and effect. It is hard, indeed, to drive the wedge where the door is closed by a love of gold, however it be obtained; but it is most true that never was there the great and noble example of truth and self-sacrifice exhibited to the world, but, by the blessing of Providence, sooner or later, it did its work, and paved the way to its imitation. (Applause). There is another topic referred to in this report, which contains in my opinion a truth incapable of being contested. It is truly said, in the report, that slavery is the root of the slave-trade. The true meaning of that expression is this, that so long as slavery continues to exist, so long the slave-trade will continue to prevail. And for the plainest of all possible reasons, the state of slavery furnishes the motive, the slave-trade is but the means of carrying into effect and realising that motive. So long,

therefore, as in Cuba and in the Brazils, and other countries, slavery is allowed to flourish as it now continues to flourish from time to time the welfare of the slaves will be considered—no, I do not say as a matter of subordinate concern, but as a matter of no concern, and the question will be, as it used to be in former days, which is the cheapest, to breed slaves, or to work them out and to buy them? So it has been, so it is, and so it will continue to be, until the whole state of slavery is eradicated from the face of the globe. Now this society purports to work its end, and to accomplish its great objects, by means that no man can impeach. Whatever some think of force or of violence, this society addresses itself to the understanding and to the conscience. It relies upon the truth of its cause; it relies upon the certainty, that, if this great principle can be made to reach from one end of the globe to the other, they must sooner make their impression upon the human heart, and must inevitably produce the real fruit of all such principles, and abandonment of practices which every christian views with horror and detestation. (Cheers.) One word more before I put an end to the address which it is now my duty to make—one word more upon the subject of slavery in the East Indies. It is the bounden duty of this country, while it complains of the faults and offences of others, to take care that it shall itself be pure. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid that the best answer that could be made to us when we are seeking the abolition of slavery in other lands, is to say, what have you done since the year 1834 in your own dominions, in Hindostan. When the House of Commons decided to abolish slavery throughout all our eastern dominions, Lord Glenelg, then at the head of the Board of Control, declared in the House of Lords that he foresaw no difficulty in carrying it into practical effect; and when the House of Lords did not concur in the immediate abolition—and that is a censure upon that house—of the evil, yet they were so anxious to afford a remedy that they came to a specific resolution, requiring the East India Company to take means to carry into effect as soon as practicable the object upon which both branches of the legislature agreed. But, alas! alas! from the year 1834 up to the present hour, we have had no fruits produced from this magnanimous declaration. We have, I believe I may say, very bulky reports, we have much reasoning, we have a multitude of statements, but I at least am ignorant that any one efficient practical step has been taken towards the accomplishment of that, which the legislature, I may almost say, declared to be necessary to be done and effected. Now, that there may be difficulties and must be difficulties, and are difficulties, I am disposed to admit; because it has been my doctrine since the first day I ever embarked in the anti-slavery cause to the present hour, that the longer we persevere in any course of iniquity, the greater will be the difficulty in turning round. Now, there are difficulties; but the great point is this, that these difficulties shall be duly appreciated, that every exertion should be made consistent with the safety of that empire, first entirely to prevent the possibility of introducing another slave into the country, and then to emancipate as speedily as may be all those who at present remain in bondage there. This, I trust, is a question that will not be allowed to fall to the ground, and that some member of the House of Commons—now I no longer have the honour of a seat there—will have the courage notwithstanding—I am well aware that the subject of slavery is palling on the appetite and feelings of that house—will have the courage to get up and perform his part by demanding the attention of that house and of the nation to the consideration of this subject; that the British name may no longer be tarnished in any part of the habitable globe with the foul and odious sin of keeping their fellow countrymen in bondage (Cheers); that we may set to other countries the last great example in our power; that, whatever may be the fears of the timid, whatever may be the outcry against the effort, we are firm to our great principles, we know their truth; we are assured in all humility of the protection of an all-seeing God, and we will go on to show to the whole world our determination that no part of that sin shall longer lie at the door of the British nation. (Cheers.) Trusting and hoping that mankind is not so degenerate, whether in Spain or in Portugal—or living in the very life-blood of his fellow-creature in Cuba or in the Brazils—or still nursing at home a bosom slave-trade, like the United States of America—trusting their understandings will be opened to conviction—their consciences softened—their exertions aroused; and that, finally, our great cause will, by the blessing of Providence, be every where triumphant, I beg to propose the resolution. (Loud cheers.)

NATHAN DUNN, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said, that he fully accorded with the views of the Society. He hoped it would not be many years before they had more pleasant news from the east (of which he was a native) and the United States. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

LORD CLIFFORD rose and said, I have the great honour to propose the following resolution:—

II.—That this meeting deeply deplores, as a gross violation of the principles of justice, the claims of humanity, and the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, the prolonged existence of slavery in British India, and the dependencies of this country in the East, whatever be its character or sanction; and earnestly calls upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the empire to unite their most active and zealous efforts for its immediate and entire abolition, and for the establishment of the right of every human being found within, or resorting to, any and all parts of the British dominions, to personal liberty and the full protection of the laws.

The first observation which I have to make on this resolution is, that this is not a meeting to take into special consideration the interests of India; but the best means of promoting and effecting the abolition of slavery all over the world. (Cheers.) In the remarks, however, which I shall have to make, you will see how much the interests of India are connected with the abolition of slavery. Great Britain has expended fifteen millions of money to put down the unchristian, the inhuman, traffic in slaves. What has been the counteracting cause which has neutralized and nullified the intended result? It is this; that, while fifteen millions of money have been expended for this object, no less a sum than £62,500,000 has been expended by this country for the maintenance of slavery. (Hear, hear.) How is this proved? By the fact, that, instead of importing cotton, as we might have done, from the East Indies, we have been importing the slave-grown cotton of America. Encourage the

growth of cotton in India, and that country will become a great mart for your manufactures. The prosperity of India and the abolition of the slave-trade are two correlative propositions. If the £62,500,000 had not been paid to the American slave-holder, that money would have gone for the employment of free labourers in our British dominions, and you would not then have felt the distress which unhappily now prevails. (Hear, hear.) I have but one word more to say, and that is, that the satisfactory settlement of this question depends far more upon the ladies of England than on any foreign powers—than upon any exertions which our sex can make. With reference to the opposition of the American churches to the abolition of slavery, I observed to a friend that there was a power far superior to any ecclesiastical power—the power of a lady's smile. (Laughter and cheers.) If the ladies of England will refuse their smile to all who do not hate slavery, we shall soon have an end put to the system. (Laughter and cheers.)

SIR G. STRICKLAND, Bart., in seconding the resolution, said, after the splendid efforts which this country has made—after it has stood conspicuous before all parts of the world for its great exertions, for its great sacrifices of money, and especially for its last splendid act of liberality in order to effect the abolition of slavery in a part of our British dominions—does it not strike you all with astonishment, and I will say with horror, that the curse of slavery still exists in our vast dominions in the east? (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Nay, I believe it will be conceded by every person who hears me, that we hold those vast dominions, not by the power of the sword—not by our soldiers, spread amongst millions of human beings, extending over a still larger number of millions of acres—but by moral power and influence. We hold those vast dominions because there is a feeling extensively prevailing there, that British law is more just than Mahomedan law; because it is universally believed that the British government is a benign government wherever it extends. Then how much should we increase that power and influence, if we were only to do that which consistency demands; and declare, by one universal and extensive law, that a slave cannot be found upon British soil? (Loud cries of hear, hear.) I know that many persons have contended, that slavery in India is of a milder character than it was in the West Indies, or than it still is in other parts of the world. But have you read the description of slavery, and can you believe that slavery is mild in any form it may assume? (Cheers.) No; it is an accursed abomination that you should hold your fellow-man as a species of chattel-interest, which you may sell to the best bidder, and may wear down his flesh, his sinews, and his bones for his own profit. (Cheers.) That is a system, in whatever light you can look upon it, that never can be mild; never can be merciful; never can be any thing in the sight of God and man, except a great moral sin. It is upon these grounds I contend, that it is the duty of the British legislature, as soon as possible, and without delay, to look searchingly into this great subject; not to let it be slurred over by any representations of interested individuals, that some parties will receive detriment by an act of mercy and justice. (Hear, hear.) There have been various estimates of the number of slaves throughout the British dominions of the east; but, though I have looked into the subject, I believe it impossible to calculate their amount. Some have estimated them at one, and some at two millions, and I see they have been calculated as high as ten millions. The fact is, the great mass of the labouring population in India are slaves of some description. Some of them appear to represent that which used to exist in this country formerly, a kind of prædial slavery, servants attached to the soil. This is a species of domestic slavery, perhaps in its most mitigated form; but, when we come to districts where sugar is made, or produce raised for other markets, there slavery exists in all its severity. I am persuaded, that, if persons will look candidly into this subject, it will be found that slavery in the east is not attended with less horrors than are found connected with it in all other parts of the world. I will not dwell upon the topics which have been touched upon by other speakers, but confine myself entirely and exclusively to the subject put into my hands. I can only assure you, that as I have long been an earnest but humble labourer in this vineyard, so, whether in or out of parliament, I will continue to give my aid, until the horrid system is abolished in this and in every other country. (Loud cheers.)

JOHN SCORLE, Esq., in supporting the motion, said, the resolution which has been moved and seconded, is, in my judgment, one of the most important that can engage the attention of abolitionists. Slavery in India is a home question, and, viewed in its relation to the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world, must be regarded as one of paramount importance. I can appeal to my friends about me, who have visited other lands with the earnest desire to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, that we have been taunted with the existence of slavery in British India, and we have been called upon loudly and frequently to overthrow that great evil in Hindostan, before we attempt to lecture other nations upon the subject of slavery or enforce the duty of emancipation in their respective countries and dependencies. I am rejoiced that the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, takes the same view as myself of the importance of cleansing ourselves from this foul iniquity, when we ask other persons to abolish similar evils in the countries to which they belong. In British India there are millions of our fellow-men held in slavery, and the slavery that is felt there is by no means the patriarchal system, which some have endeavoured to represent it to be, but is atrocious in its character, destroying human life as well as robbing multitudes of liberty. I feel it to be my duty to lift up my voice against the foul iniquity, and to demand that Great Britain put an end to slavery in British India, with its fearful adjunct the slave-trade. (Cheers.) You are aware, my lord, that individuals from India have denied the existence of slavery in that part of the British empire;—but when your lordship directs your attention to the vast pile of parliamentary documents which have been placed on the tables of both houses of Parliament you will there find that slavery not only exists, but that it exists to a fearful extent; that it is characterised by nearly all the atrocities which marked the system in the West Indies. But there are other individuals from India, who deny that the slaves suffer any thing like the same amount of degradation and privation with those who were recently emancipated in our West India colonies. By way of shewing you the extremes of opinion upon this subject, allow me to give you two short extracts from papers I hold in my hand. One of them is taken from the evidence of a gentleman, who fills an office of importance under the government; the other from a

letter recently received from British India, written by a distinguished judge, who has filled offices of the highest class for the last forty years. Mr. Trevelyan, in his evidence given before the East India produce committee in 1840, describes slavery in British India in the following terms: "slavery has been discussed in India on several occasions with a view to the abolition of it; but the conclusion always came to was, that it was not a practical grievance, and that by interfering with the relations between landlord and ryot in that form—for it is nothing more in fact, we should be meddling with a matter in which we should do no good; and might give general dissatisfaction." This is the testimony of Mr. Trevelyan; he says that slavery exists, but it is not felt to be a practical evil. What, is it not a practical evil to be bought and sold in the market? Is it not a practical evil to suffer the loss of all those domestic ties, and all the endearing circumstances of home which the slave invariably loses in any part of the world in which he may be found? Is it not a practical grievance that any man should be deprived of his natural rights, of the power of locomotion, and be made a mere means to an end to serve other persons? (Loud cheers). But Mr. Trevelyan afterwards admits, that the slave of India may be sold, may be separated from his family; and he goes on and gives details of the various hardships which these slaves—who suffer no practical grievances—(laughter) have to endure in that part of the British empire. I have thought it right in order that I might have an opportunity of correcting some false opinions upon this subject to bring out the evidence of Mr. Trevelyan, and to place it in contrast with Judge Baber, who bears his testimony to the fact, that slavery in British India possesses in all its essential characteristics, is even worse than the slavery that formerly existed in the West India colonies. In a letter recently received from him, he says, "the condition of the agrestic slaves throughout the whole length and breadth of the western peninsula, amounting to between three and four hundred thousand souls, is infinitely more appalling than any thing ever known or heard of in the far west." It will, however, be found upon a careful review of parliamentary papers, that these gentlemen have viewed the system of slavery under different aspects, and in different parts of the country. It will be found that Mr. Trevelyan's judgment is formed from what he observed in Calcutta; but Judge Baber's on what he knew to exist on the western peninsula of India. It may be true, there are some mild forms of slavery existing in certain parts of the continent of India; but with respect to the general character of prædial slavery there, it is as bad in principle and as atrocious in detail as that which existed in the West Indies. I am anxious that the system of slavery in the east should be overthrown, in order that the objects contemplated by the noble lord (Lord Clifford) should be carried into effect. I am most anxious that we should have in British India a free population to cultivate free cotton to bring into competition with the products of the United States. I therefore rejoice that the noble lord is willing to give us his assistance in the abolition of slavery in the east. I ask you to bear in mind the claims of the slaves in British India, and not to relax in your exertions, nor to swerve from your purpose till every part of the British dominions be free from this great evil. The very ground upon which your lordship enjoys your titles and princely estates will be found associated with the liberty of the slave all over the world; for I ask, what are our rights based upon, but upon an acknowledgment of an individual right to personal liberty, and to the enjoyment of property. (Cheers). Therefore it becomes a duty on the part of all men, however high their station, to assist in the elevation of the world by the overthrow of this mighty evil, which impedes the march of civilization and liberty throughout the world.—(Loud cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. J. BURNET rose to move,

III. That this meeting views the continuance of the African slave-trade, especially as carried on by professedly Christian and civilized countries, with the utmost abhorrence, and cannot but regard any encouragement of this guilty traffic as reflecting the greatest dishonour on the governments which permit, and the people who sanction it. This meeting therefore, renews the expression of its opinion, that the only certain means of securing the complete extinction of this traffic is to be found in the universal abolition of slavery, and earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity throughout the world, perseveringly to seek the accomplishment of this great object by the use of those means only, which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.

That this meeting would hold up to the just condemnation of the world, those of their countrymen who are voluntarily the holders of mines or estates worked by slaves; or who are engaged, directly or indirectly, on the coast of Africa, or in foreign states, in carrying on, or intentionally facilitating the operations of the slave-trade; and would urgently call on the government to institute proceedings against all such persons known to be residing within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

That this meeting, in view of the appalling facts laid before Parliament, regards with alarm the contemplated removal of the restrictions laid on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius; as well as the insidious project, now the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, of peopling the West India colonies with native Africans, involving as it does the renewal by this country, and the extension by others, of the iniquities of the slave-trade; and expresses its firm conviction, that neither the legislature nor the people of this country will ever permit so unrighteous a plan to be realized.

This important resolution is really so long, that it ought to serve for a speech—(Laughter). We cannot however, complain of it, because it is right, that when the result of proceedings, such as those in which we are now engaged, shall have been laid before the public, they should fully understand the great objects that we have in view. And, perhaps, one of the best ways in which these objects can be well understood, may be the means employed by our committee on this occasion, viz:—a full, and clear, and lengthened statement of those objects in the resolutions of the day. But many may be disposed to say, and it frequently happens that they do say, that we do not require an anti-slavery society now; that slavery is altogether at an end in our dominions, and that it is scarcely

possible to conceive what object an anti-slavery society can have in view, in now continuing to prolong its existence, and its proceedings. Many individuals who did not enter into the slave question when it had something to do with our own dominions, are ready to say still, that there are no means of satisfying these extravagant, and persevering, and enthusiastic philanthropists, and that they are carrying on this system of protracted meetings in connexion with slavery for the mere purpose of relieving themselves of the feelings which ought long since to have been gratified by the removal of slavery from our own dominions—(Laughter and cheers.) Now I should like to set the public right, if I can, by a few plain statements on this subject. It is very true that in our western colonies we have no slaves; I wish that could be said, with truth, of our oriental colonies. It cannot, however. But I do not say that we ought to have an anti-slavery society merely for India, because there are slaves there. I would go a step further, and say the condition of slavery throughout the world demands the existence, and cannot be ameliorated without the assistance, of an anti-slavery society. And where can an anti-slavery society be formed with the advantages associated with an English anti-slavery society?—a society existing in the bosom of a people that gave twenty millions of money—sooner than carry on a lengthened cavilling with planters, and have planters cavilling with them—to be relieved of this foul traffic, and its moral criminality. Such a society could not exist in America, boasting as America does of its act of independence, which, let it be remembered, is found applicable in its working only to the white man. No such society could exist in France, whilst France has its slaves; nor could such a society work effectively in Spain, in Holland, or in Portugal. Though such societies may arise there, they must first of all act for the freedom of their own slaves, and then for those of the world. But in our western colonies we have no slaves, and therefore we take our ground upon the great fact that we have emancipated them; and upon this ground—consecrated by this fact, we can turn round to all the powers under heaven, and say, "Go ye, and do likewise." (Loud cheers). This is what makes an anti-slavery society a suitable, working, and effective body in this kingdom. Let there be a constant distinction made, however, between slavery and the slave-trade; and it will be found that an anti-slavery society, existing so appropriately in England, has a great deal of work to do. If I should offer to explain any distinctions that may be obvious to your lordship, and to many on the platform who are accustomed to think upon these affairs, let it not be supposed that I wish to minister any instruction to you; but let it be recollected, that there are many who are not in the habit of directing their attention closely to the slave-question, and who do not understand all the technicalities employed when speaking about it, and, if we can, we ought to enlighten them upon this great question. The slave-trade, therefore, let me remark, is the traffic in slaves between Africa and the countries to which they are carried—is the sail to and fro, backwards and forwards, of the men, and women, and children of Africa. This is the slave-trade which, with us, terminated in the year 1807. Slavery is the state of the negro that have been held in slavery since the slave-trade was abolished, either in our own colonies, or in others. In our own colonies slavery is at an end, as well as the slave-trade; in other colonies, however, slavery continues to exist, although the slave-trade has been condemned. Now let it be remembered, that slavery is the receptacle for the stolen men and women of the slave-trade. Let us therefore clearly observe this distinction. The powers of France are ready to do away with the slave-trade, and to denounce it, and they have done so. But come to slavery itself, and then what do they do? They refuse to listen to you. The question then arises—can they stop the slave-trade while slavery exists? If there is a market for British goods—let those goods be stolen from Africa, or manufactured in England—British commercial cupidity will find it. If there is a large profit to be obtained in a market by a successful speculation, no law will prevent smuggling; and it is well known by those who have paid any attention to the subject, that, if 30, 40, or 50 per cent. can be gained upon an article—no arrangements in the houses of parliament, no arrangements at the custom-house, can stop the traffic that may be denounced. Give the British merchant a profit of 50 per cent. in any trade, and he will run his goods in the face of both houses of parliament; in the face of the custom-house regulations; in spite of all the supervision that men can exercise over him. And why? Just because the property in which he is dealing will be found only in one channel at a time, whilst the means by which you watch him are spread here, and there, and every where. They are not omnipresent, that cannot be; and he will find the place where they are not. (Laughter). If you catch him one time, the profit he gets on seven other occasions will be an ample compensation for the loss he has sustained, when you have been happy enough once to detect him. This is the way the slave-trade goes on in nations where the slaves are compelled to work. You can easily see that the slave-trade must continue while there is a large profit in carrying it on. I have spoken of forty or fifty per cent., but in this case a profit is obtained of two hundred or three hundred per cent. While there is an opportunity of running such a trade, they will run it against all the laws which can be made. What will not the sons of mammon do, when they can look for such a golden harvest as this? They are clever, ingenious men, made able by practice; and they will set at defiance all the revenue regulations, all the custom-house regulations of Europe, if they can obtain such a profit as this. If you capture a slave-ship, and it happens to be worth £2000 or £3000, you are ready to say they will never do it again. But you forget that they have twenty such ships, and this is a mere accident, like the breaking of a rope, or the tearing of a sail in the wind. (Hear, hear). That is the way they look upon the capture; and again they set to work at the trade which is so profitable. (Hear, hear). But it may be asked whether the powers of Europe are taking any steps to prevent this. We answer that some of them are signing treaties; and some of them have broken all they have signed; some will not sign treaties; and they would not be worth the paper they were written on, if they did. (Hear, hear). Therefore France need not make so much to do about refusing to sign this treaty. The national pride, may induce the governors of that people to say, "we will not allow an English officer to search a French vessel. But really, if an English officer were allowed to do this, means enough would be taken to escape him, and the French flag would make its way from the English cruiser, with its cargo of slaves, to the distant port. We must look to the extinction of slavery, or no treaties can accomplish the destruction of the slave-trade. But it will be asked, How is it that those powers that

refuse to allow transportation from Africa are not more on the alert? Why, thousands and tens of thousands are shipped into the colonies of Europe, with the knowledge of the functionaries residing there, (hear, hear) every year. Who are these powers? Why France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, all these nations have their colonies; and all these colonies have slaves; and slaves will be smuggled in for the purpose of securing the profit. In Cuba you have a range of coast of 4500 miles at least; and with a range of coast like this, with creeks and bays of every description, there is a facility for smuggling anything you please. A vessel comes from Africa, and, notwithstanding the treaties we have by which she is seizable, her cargo of slaves is landed and purchased. She does not run into the port of Rio, she only goes a little north, or a little south of it; and, the fishermen helping them, the cargo is entirely landed, and the vessel comes round with the Brazilian flag at her mast head, with all the impudence by which a slave-vessel can be distinguished, and, stopping at the custom-house, says she has returned in ballast, and that after she has landed her slaves the preceding night. They know that at the custom-house, but they get something for doing nothing in it. The slaves are taken into the country in this way. And when they are going in the wag-gons, something is thrown over to hide them. And why do they do this? Is it for fear they should be taken? No; but for fear the public functionary should see them, and he should want something more. (Hear, hear). But if a public officer were to act efficiently, they would think nothing of meeting him with a pistol, or stabbing him to the heart with a knife. (Hear, hear). But what becomes of justice? Justice is no part of their moral attributes. Therefore let me remind this meeting, that we have not to deal merely with the powers of Europe—with the public functionaries of Brazil—with the national character of those countries. Take the whole of the Brazilians, and ask them to do any thing in the way of pure, unalloyed justice. They mean to do no such thing; they do not mean to follow up the treaties that would terminate the slave-trade. No; thousands and tens of thousands get into that country still, stolen, and torn away from their own homes in Africa, in spite of all the treaties we have made. They will continue to do this; and for the reasons I have mentioned—the extensive profits derived from the traffic—the winking of public functionaries at the affair—the want of moral feeling on the question throughout the whole mass of the community—all these things will make it perfectly hopeless to prevent any vessel carrying slaves from entering the Brazils. Such is the condition in the Brazils: are we better in Cuba? By no means. All the remarks I have made will apply to Porto Rico, or any of the colonies where slavery is to be found. Tyranny likes slaves, and despots like the people to succumb; and you have to ask the tyrant to prevent slavery; you have to ask the despot to lift the people, to set them upright, and tell them to be men. (Hear, hear). How long will you ask tyranny at home or abroad to do this? Never was tyranny known to meet such a demand, and it never will.—What can we do to stop this plundering? The African plunderer may be supposed to carry two hundred thousand souls a year from their own home. That is done now, and all the cruelty that you heard of in our own islands—all the separation of wives from their husbands—all the destruction of human life—all the expressions of passion on the part of tyranny amongst slaves, all this is going on among twice as many slaves as we held in our West India colonies. There they are, suffering, flogged, excoriated, peppered, as formerly practised in the West Indies. When the poor people are afflicted upon the recollection of their own country, when in the mines or elsewhere they suffer under nostalgia, or the diseases arising from it, and in despair eat the very dust of the ground, what is the plan to which their masters have recourse? They have a tin mask, which is placed over their heads, and so fastened round their necks that it cannot be removed. (Hear, hear). They may look at the dust, while they are prevented from eating it. It is an expression of sad despondency, and in those iron masks they must work for their tyrants. Every thing which we have been accustomed to hear in this hall about our own slaves is going on now. You have only to call this to mind with the additional cruelties I have now stated, practised in those countries less affected by British influence than our own planters were, bad as was their conduct, and I ask, is not this an awful state of things? If then we have touched slavery in our own territories, yet here it is in all horrors; and will any one then say, what is the use of an anti-slavery society? (Cheers). Look at the influence which English wealth has on this slave traffic. (Hear, hear). This assembly may be ready to tell me, that Englishmen have nothing to do with this, that our slaves have been emancipated. They are mistaken. After the South American republic cast off old Spain, mining speculations rose to a very high pitch, and many companies were formed in England, and large capitals were subscribed: these mines are now in operation in the new Spanish republics, as in the empire of the Brazils. There are English agents employed in many cases, and some of these are British officers. (Hear, hear). Yes, these mines are worked under the superintendence of English agents who have carried her majesty's commission, and are now receiving their half-pay! (Hear, hear). There they are, ashing these slaves, and the money comes back to the respectable merchants that are holding shares. This is the way the shares produce their dividends, and dividends arising from slavery are paid to gentlemen who reside in this city, whose merchants are princes; and who, in their gay equipages, rival nobility in the grandeur of their display, whilst their poor slaves are eating the mud, or, masked by iron, are prevented the degrading gratification. There is the Brazilian Imperial Mining Company, and many others, which float with English capital and English agency, and into these mines the new importations from Africa are carried, and there sold, there bought, and there worked to death, to make way for another importation. Ah! has England nothing to do with the anti-slavery cause? It may be asked, can we do nothing to stop this? You would suppose the law would catch them here; but does it? The consolidated slave act of our own country provides, that any individual engaged in the slave trade—because the act was passed before slavery was abolished in the colonies—taken in it, within or without the jurisdiction of the admiralty, shall be punished in the one case by transportation for 14 years, and in the other for life; but can you catch these men? They will say, all my slaves are of the old class, they are not of recent importation, and this act is only against the slave-trade: in this way we cannot get at them, you have thus another reason for the entire abolition of slavery. When you have chicanery of this kind to cover the delinquency. But it may be said, that we can apply to her Majesty. If we inform her that officers, not in the full-pay, but the half-pay of England

are engaged superintending foreign mines, where slavery is going on, and the slave-trade is practised, surely, according to the law of England, she will take their commissions from them. Such applications have been made to her Majesty's government, and what was the answer? We are not in the habit of interfering with the private employment of officers on half-pay! (Hear, hear). But I know they are in the habit of interfering with them, when it touches themselves. (Hear, hear). I could tell you of instances where they have dismissed officers on half-pay in connection with their private employment but they were not connected with slavery. (Hear, hear). This then is another reason for the total abolition of slavery, when from our government to the government of France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, down to the Brazils and South American republics, you can get nothing but chicanery, national winking, and overlooking the criminality going on, while Africa is losing, year after year, so many hundred thousand of her sons, and British merchants are employing British capital in these mines, all your efforts to put down the slave-trade are in vain. There seems to be such a system connected with slavery, that unless you destroy its root and branch, you will never eradicate it. All the vicious passions, all the illogical deductions, all the unprincipled feelings, all the foul chicanery, by which an intelligent people ought to feel themselves degraded, will be found to cluster till it blinds the eyes of those who ought to detect and expose it. But this is not all. We have Africa set upon, not only in the southern, the eastern and the western ports, but we have the centre of Africa set upon by these blood-hounds, that take, and sell, and buy, and work the poor slaves. In the interior of Africa there are Mahomedans—Moors; and those acting on the principles of the Koran, cannot hold slaves, for that book forbids that they should be held. What do these Mahomedans do? Upwards of twenty million of them are scattered through Africa, who apply themselves to the capture of the negro, and they have establishments for slaves just as they have establishments for camels or other cattle. Some of these are made slaves in the interior, and others are carried away to be made slaves abroad. Nor is this all—the markets of Abyssinia are filled with slaves, who are carried through Egypt to the Asiatic market, and some of them as far as our own Indian territories. The poor Africans are seized on the coasts by the cupidity of the European customer, they are seized in the interior by the Mahomedan and carried away by land, and the horrors of the middle passage are only equalled by the horrors of the desert, through which they are conducted to the Asiatic market. We know what this country has done for Turkey. We have refused to allow the integrity of that empire to be touched. In 1800 we gave many a man to preserve Egypt to Turkey, recently, we have directed our attention to Syria, and we have given that back to the Mahomedan power. Have we no influence in Turkey while we are acting thus? Does not Turkey feel that we have—does she not feel her dependence upon us—is she not our ally? Then we ought to press the government to work the great principles of humanity. When we go to help a poor enfeebled empire, what right have our government to give up every thing that policy can give up, to save the empire in its integrity, without demanding at the same time, that this internal, infernal traffic shall for ever cease? (Hear, hear, and cheers). These opportunities are lost, because the public do not understand it. We understand it. (Cheers). Tell the government, let it be whig or tory, blue or grey, orange or red (laughter)—that they have no right to stir to the right hand or to the left, without remembering that they are an anti-slavery government,—let them know that the great principles of freedom have to do with every stroke of policy in which they may engage, and give them always to feel, that, while they are moving in any direction, among the nations of the earth, whether it be in Afghanistan or China, whatever else they may be doing, they must be seeking the elevation and freedom of our race—(Loud cheers). If British influence were thus used, slavery would soon pass away from our world, and we should find all the countries to which I referred, deprived of the power of tampering with the slave-trade, because there would be no slavery. Let it be known that the moment an African landed on the shore of Brazil, he can lift up his head like a man, when they ask him to work, and say, "What are your terms? What will you give me? What are your wages?" They tell him. "I will not work for you," he says—he goes somewhere else, and gets some other employment. If this were done, there would be no man stealing. They would not give their dollars for men on the one side of the Atlantic, if, when they landed on the other, they became free men. But it may be asked, have we any thing more to do with slavery? Yes; there are goods manufactured in Manchester for the slave-market. They know very well how to buy and sell goods for the slave. Certain goods are made up in England, of a quality known to be fit only for the slave-market. The gentlemen in England sending them out, know that they go to buy slaves. They know that, as well as you know that the money you give to the servant to go to the baker is intended to buy loaves—(Laughter and cheers). They are sent to buy them of the chiefs, who have taken them from other chiefs in the interior. Cowrie shells are used for the same purpose; if you have any old muskets, or bad gunpowder, these are sent to buy slaves. Spirits are sent to buy them. Ships go out with cargoes worth almost nothing, and come back with slaves worth a large price, in all the colonies to which I have referred. They will make more by buying slaves, than they could make by rearing his children. But it may be said, cannot the government compel them to register their slaves; and take an account of those who die? I have already shown you that no government can do any thing, if the whole community are against them. This is the way the owners have done, and do still, wherever registration is insisted upon. The moment a slave is registered, that is, put upon the returns, it is thought the slave-trade is at an end, and that no fresh supply can be obtained; the theory is, that he will take care of those already under his control. But, when a cargo comes in, he will take one and another, and place them in the room of those whom he has worked to death; and he will swear that these are the men whom he had put on the register. If it should be said, that we do not know how many slaves are brought from Africa, and that our numbers are exaggerated, I reply, that we have many ways in which we can ascertain it. We have reports from commissioners that have been appointed; we have reports from the consuls of the countries to which I have referred; we have the quantity of slave-goods—coat-goods, as they are called, but I am giving the translation of the word—that are exported; and taking all these things together, along with private intelligence, we feel no difficulty about ascertaining the number of slaves exported from Africa. If we say, taking Africa round and round,

and going into the interior, 300,000 people are carried off annually, we shall not go too far (Hear, hear). They are sometimes suffocated between the decks; sometimes they are landed without a rag to cover them, and the persons who are detected have the impudence to say, that they are emigrants, or passengers (Hear, hear). I was anxious that the meeting should understand foreign slave-trade, as it exists throughout the earth; in order that they may take their own stand, against so nefarious a traffic. The resolution which I am about to move, directs your attention to all the topics which I have noticed. I cannot take it up phrase by phrase, or sentence by sentence, and therefore I must satisfy myself with this general review of its topics. There is, however, one point of it on which I would just make a remark; that is the point, that alludes to a committee now sitting, and making inquiries about the propriety of bringing the Africans as emigrants, and free men, to work in the colonies. I trust the meeting will accept this part of the resolution, by denouncing such a scheme. Go to the coast of Africa, and ask the people to emigrate, to come and work; they do not understand you; they know nothing about your work; they know nothing about your country; men are brought down from the interior by chiefs, by a banditti, who know as little about your country as you do of the countries in the moon (Laughter.) If you tell them they are going to the moon, they are ignorant enough to believe it. Talk of making a bargain with them; you may as well make a bargain with camels; not because they are incapable of understanding, but they know nothing about it. They want the old system in the West Indies again (Hear, hear). They will be driven down in flocks; they will be shipped as workmen; they will come under the cruelties of the middle passage; they must pass through all the sufferings experienced in the old slave-trade; and, when they are landed, there is no one who can speak to them. How can they tell the governor where they proceeded from? And if they could, the super-cargo would say it was a falsehood. What is to be done. They say that you cannot prevent emigration. Look at your own country. Let a man stand on the quays, and attempt to bargain with them, and who will say that that can be done with the poor people on the coast of Africa? There is no man that will dare to tell us that there is any parallel. I hold that, if we find men in a condition of barbarism we must not let them remain in ignorance, but treat them according to the state in which we find them. Africa is too ignorant to suffer it to be permitted to come forward for a moment, and offer pretended workmen as emigrants. First let the people be enlightened, and then we will leave them to make a bargain. (Cheers.) Let the people of this country, who plead so strongly for emigration from Africa, take the native population in, and school them up, and then, when they have taught the people, let a British vessel arrive at Fernando Po, or any where else you please; let a number of healthy blacks come into the boats and demand where you are going to take them, for what you want them, what is the amount of wages you propose to give and what is the security for its payment. Let it come to that, and then let the legislature say, "we cannot interfere with freedom." These people have no freedom, they do not know what it is; and we must teach them. Do not let it be supposed, that I run down the intellect of the coloured population; no, I am about to be seconded by M. L'Instant, a gentleman who has studied in France, and who has gained a prize for an essay on "the best means of abolishing the prejudices of the whites against men of colour." He has carried away the palm, against all the intelligence and ingenuity of France, (cheers), though the work was in their own language (Loud cheers). Here a man of colour comes forward to assert the equality of his own race; to take his stand in the most polished capital of Europe, and to shew that any objection to the black man, or to the coloured man, must have its ground in ignorant prejudice—(Loud cheers).

M. L'Instant, from Hayti, said, I rise to second the resolution. As a citizen of Hayti, I think it is my duty to make my voice heard, in a meeting, the object of which is, the abolition of slavery throughout the world. As a man, I think it is my duty to protest against the system which reduces man to the condition of a beast of burden. As Christians, we are all brethren, because we are all children of one God (Loud cheers).

The Rev. W. G. Barrett, in supporting the resolution, said—I feel it to be a privilege to say a word on this occasion, and to speak upon one subject which has not been particularly alluded to by any of the preceding speakers, although I have no doubt the Rev. Mr. Knibb who is to succeed me, will enter more fully into it. That subject is the alleged non-working of the free system in Jamaica. I read with the greatest attention the speech of the noble secretary for the colonies, delivered on the evening of March 22nd; and, when I read the first part of it, I thought that the most ardent abolitionist could not have pleaded the cause of the world's freedom more powerfully than did his lordship. To use his lordship's own words, he said, "that the results of emancipation had far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its most ardent advocate." But whilst his lordship stated this, he told us that, beneficial as its results of freedom had been to the down-trodden negro, who was now settled in liberty, to the planters it had been ruin; and that the produce of the estates was much fallen off, and would continue to fall off year after year—

"Small by degrees, and miserably less;"

and that unless the legislature took some steps to provide for the evil, inevitable ruin must be the result. I ask when our West India proprietors are going to be satisfied. Their watchword has been ruin ever since I have had any recollection. When the inhuman traffic in slaves was about to be destroyed, they told us that their estates would be ruined; but they still continued to flourish, and the absent proprietors in Belgrave and Portman Squares rolled in luxury, although you had cut off the supply of slaves. When we were about to abolish slavery, and Lord Stanley introduced the modified form of apprenticeship, the West India planters told us again that they were going to be ruined, and confusion worse confounded, they rose and demanded from a high minded and generous people the payment of twenty millions sterling as a bribe, a subsidy, before they would let their oppressed slaves go free. And now, in a time of commercial distress the direst and most unexampled, when the prime minister, to meet the exigency, is obliged to bring forward a new tariff and adopt a variety of expedients, the West India proprietors, these same modest men, come and demand, after we have paid the twenty millions to relieve them of the dead weight of slavery, that we shall provide them with labourers from Africa—(Cheers). The fact is, there is no want of

labour in the West Indies, but there is a lack of something else—there is a deficiency of capital—(Hear, hear). There has been a most lavish and most shameful expenditure occasioned by overseers and attorneys; and another cause, is the absorbing of so large an amount of the island income in support of the establishment—(Hear, hear). These two things occasioned the want of cultivation, and yet the evil we are told arises from the lack of labour. A large planting attorney assured me that he could obtain more hands than he could employ; what he wanted was capital. They tell us that the present state of things is the negroes fault; but that is not the fact, the blame rests upon the head of those who have so long endeavoured to uphold so sinful a state of things—(Cheers). If the produce had fallen off, and the free system had not worked, it would have been their own fault. Mr. Burnet correctly remarked, that justice was no part of a slave-holder's attributes; and I may add, that common sense is no part of them—(Cheers). Immediately after freedom, the overseer of a property in my neighbourhood wrote me a letter, requesting me to come over, and make an arrangement with the labourers; as he earnestly requested it. I agreed to do so, for the people would make no arrangement unless their minister was with them, to see that all was fair and square. I still retain possession of the overseer's note. We went all over the property; we went into every house, and placed a value upon each. I then addressed the labourers, who said they were willing to abide by my decision. The regulations were simple. I determined that the questions of rent and wages should be kept distinct; and that the free-men should have the liberty of taking their labour to whatever market they pleased, and selling it for the highest price. The regulations were these—that the people should have their houses and grounds for one year certain, upon a rent then to be fixed. At the end of the year, if the attorney wished them to leave, he was to give them three months notice; and the people agreed that, if they wished to leave, they were to give three months notice. The rent to be agreed upon was to be paid on the last Saturday in every month. This was settled, and the agreement was signed by the attorney, and by myself on behalf of the people. I then said to him, "Mr. Lee, so strong is my confidence in the people, that I will undertake to pay you the rents for all the houses; I know the people will pay it to me, and therefore I will pay it to you." I did so, because I wanted to see one estate setting an example of good order. The agreement lasted two days—(laughter), when I received a note, saying that Mr. So and So, the attorney of another property, advised him not to keep to the agreement unless the people would bind themselves to work for him, and for no one else, for a year certain. (Laughter). I knew that if they bound themselves to him, he would have ground down their wages to the starving point. (Hear, hear). The people came in confusion, and said, "what this mean? The Buckra people always take too much of we. If he take paper back again, is not we off bargain too?" (Laughter, and cheers). I said, "to be sure you are." It so happened at that very time there was a lot of land to be sold, consisting of 138 acres, immediately adjoining the property. I bought it, and had it divided into lots; every man belonging to that property took a part of the land, and was located upon his own freehold. (Cheers). I was blamed for this, and it was said that I had unduly interfered; but I never interposed, except at the overseer's request. It is true, there was for some time, a withdrawal of the usual amount of labour, but it arose from the people working out their own land and building their own houses. But whose fault was it? The people would have stopped and worked, had they received proper wages. They were, however, driven from the property, because common sense forms no portion of the attributes of the slaveholder.

The resolution was then put and carried.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., rose to move the fourth resolution.

IV.—That this meeting regards with deep interest the enlightened efforts and noble sacrifices of the abolitionists of the United States of America in the sacred cause of human freedom; and whilst it sympathises with them in their struggles, heartily rejoices in the more extensive prevalence, and in the certain, and not far distant triumph of their principles; and publicly renews the offer of its warm and steady co-operation.

That this meeting rejoices in the restoration of the *Amistad* captives to their native land, through the zealous and christian exertions of the friends of humanity and freedom, and in the triumph of law over despotism; that it equally rejoices in the escape of the slaves of the *Creole* from a cruel and interminable bondage in the slave states of America, by seeking refuge in a British colony; and would record its high approbation of the noble sentiments of the great legal authorities of this country on the subject, and the prompt decision of the government in ordering the release of those in custody.

That this meeting feels assured the British government will utterly and for ever repudiate any and all demands that may be made upon it, for the restoration of the *Creole* negroes, and all other slaves who may have sought refuge within its territories, or for compensation to their oppressors for their loss.

That, renewing its decided protest against the recognition of Texas by the government of this country, as deeply affecting the liberty and happiness of mankind, this meeting views the renewed project of its annexation to the United States as involving the questions of peace and war between nations now at amity—the introduction of slavery into countries not now subject to its curse—and the increased preponderance of the slave-holding party in the government of the great North American republic; and earnestly calls upon the philanthropists of that country to use their most active and persevering exertions to prevent a calamity so fatal in its consequences to the welfare of mankind.

That this meeting further rejoices to learn the progress of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and trusts that the number and power of its advocates will rapidly increase, until the governments under which they live shall no longer be able to resist their influence, and shall, without an exception, decree the extinction of slavery in the various countries and dependencies subject to their control; and, finally, that this meeting cordially

invites the correspondence and co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the world with this society, in carrying its great design speedily and peacefully into execution.

I rise under peculiar disadvantages, for it was intended that the Lord Mayor of Dublin should have seconded this resolution. I think it however due to him to state, that I am satisfied nothing but urgent business in Dublin would have prevented him being present. As I visited America last year, principally on an anti-slavery mission, I will make a few observations in reference to it. I am glad that I shall speak in the presence of Americans, and, if I should make any statements that are inaccurate, they will I trust correct me. If I had ever doubted the justice of the principles on which this society is established, my visit to America would have removed them. Not only is it entirely hopeless to attempt to abolish the slave-trade without the abolition of slavery, but it is our duty, as wise politicians as well as christians, to seek that great end only by moral, religious, and pacific means. But, perhaps, there was no subject with which I was more strongly impressed in my visit there, than the absurd idea of attempting to distinguish between the guilt of the slave-holder and that of the slave-trader. (Cheers.) The first establishment for carrying on the slave-trade I visited, was almost in the centre of the city of Baltimore. I visited it in open day; and I should have scorned to have made any concealment of who I was. (Cheers.) I was very courteously shewn over the building; and I was assured by the proprietor, that he bought slaves from more severe masters to transfer them to others less severe (laughter); that slaves often came and asked him to buy them; and he advanced arguments that I could not answer, to shew that the slave-trader was not more guilty than the slave-holder. I went directly from that establishment to the triennial meeting of the Baptist board of missions, which was then being held. When I entered the large meeting house, the subject before them was the ballot for officers for the next three years. I knew before I went, that it was intended by the convention to displace our friend, Elon Galusha, as one of the vice-presidents of the American Baptist Missionary Society, because he had attended the convention in London, and supported a resolution which affirmed that slave-holders ought not to be received as members of christian churches. (Hear, hear.) The principal person who spoke in favour of the ejection of Elon Galusha was a minister very celebrated in the south, and who held one hundred slaves himself. When the ballot was taken, our friend was rejected by 124 against 117. It is not for us to decide, it is known only to Him to whom the secrets of all hearts are unfolded, who is the most guilty—the 124 ministers or members of religious churches, or the slave-dealer (hear, hear,) whom I had just left in the den where human beings were sold as beasts of the field. I know this is strong language, but I wish things to be seen in their true light. Do not for a moment suppose that the Baptists are worse than other denominations. I believe that, in a convention of any other denomination of Christians, except those who have wiped their hands of the system, there would not have been so many votes in favour of Elon Galusha. (Hear, hear.) And the decision, was considered a moral triumph as compared with the state of feeling at an earlier period. The next slave-trading establishment I visited was at Alexandria. Among the victims of the traffic here, I met with a woman and nine children, who had been sold from her husband. Now I put it to any one here, whether the planter, who derived a benefit from the uncompensated toil of this poor woman and children, was less guilty than the slave-trader who bought them to send to New Orleans. The next establishment I visited was in the city of Washington, and so near the house of representatives, that within half an hour after talking in the senate with Henry Clay, I was within the slave-trader's establishment. I was also within sight of the President's house, and he is himself a slave-holder. (Hear, hear.) In conversation with the person who kept this establishment, he significantly remarked he could not see any difference between a slave-holder and a slave-trader. With such scenes around me I could not answer that he was more guilty than they. I think it is of importance for the sake of humanity that the system should be considered as one and the same. I rather think I was the very first person who went into the southern slave-holding estates, avowedly and openly, as a professed abolitionist. (Cheers.) Some of my friends thought I ran a little risk in so doing, and perhaps I might, if I had not been rapid in my movements. (Laughter.) But in addition to that, the guilty are always cowards. When I was in one of these establishments, and one of my friends turned round and said, "that is an English abolitionist," the man looked more afraid of me than I was of him. (Laughter.) We also distributed some books on the subject, and the other day I received a letter from a friend, of which the following is a short extract:—

"Charles T. Torrey has been tried as an incendiary in Maryland, and acquitted on the ground that he had not distributed anti-slavery publications in the state. Thou and I narrowly escaped a ten years' sojourn in the Maryland penitentiary, for distributing books, &c., in Baltimore. I should scarcely risk it again."

I wish to make one remark or two with regard to Texas. (Hear, hear.) It is a fearful question, and I cannot now go fully into it; but I will state that there is no abolitionist in America, or an enlightened politician, who is not aware that the great object in establishing the republic of Texas is to open a new slave market for the southern states. Mexico had abolished slavery in her dominions, of which Texas formed a part. The slave-holder has gone across the border, and again set up slavery. That is the simple fact, one which I trust our friends will bear in mind, for I know that great pains are taken to deceive the public on this subject. There are, however, many encouraging indications with reference to America. The anti-slavery friends there have organized what is called the third, or liberty party. The object is to put up a candidate, in all the free states, at every election, from the president down to a constable. (Cheers.) I think I am safe in saying, that the votes of 1841, as compared with those of 1840, for anti-slavery candidates, were on an average nearly as three to one in their favour. (Cheers.) I have also the pleasure of stating that in the city of New York, they have abolished the Nine months' act. That act was this; that any slave-holder coming from the south to that city with a slave, as a personal attendant, if with the slave's consent, might detain that slave for nine months, and then take him back. It was, however, determined by a majority, I think of fifty-three to forty-nine, in the lower house, and by a still greater majority in the upper house, that a slave thus brought by his master should be free. (Cheers.) I was told that, if it had been proposed two years ago, that they did not think ten votes could have been obtained. (Hear, hear.) There was another

pleasing circumstance. I was present at a meeting in New York, which was attended by the negroes released from the *Amistad*. The price of admission was half a dollar, but there were 1500 persons present. Some of these negroes came forward, and I am happy to say, that they had made great progress in the English language, and had you taken men from any part of any country, they would not have shown more intellect. I was told that, had such an exhibition taken place, some years before, it would have caused a popular outbreak. (Hear, hear.) Another pleasing circumstance has also just taken place. An anti-slavery member of the Congress brought forward some resolutions, affirming the propriety of the conduct of the British government in reference to the *Creole*. The slave-holders and their supporters carried a resolution of censure upon him, and the consequence was he resigned his seat, and went back to his constituents in Ohio; and I am assured there is every reason to suppose that his constituents will send him back with a still larger majority. (Cheers.) But while condemning America let him "who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." When I was in the West Indies, I found that some of the most severe slave-holders had received a religious education in Scotland. (Hear, hear.) In coming across the atlantic the other day, one of my fellow passengers, a Scotchman, a high religious professor, had become a holder of slaves; he spoke of the liberality with which they paid their ministers, but when I asked him, if ministers were faithful enough to preach against the sin of slavery they would, he replied, "O no!"—(Hear, hear.) On asking him whether he had ever bought and sold slaves, he acknowledged that he had. Whoever it may offend, I should say, with reference to the directors of mining companies—and I will mention one "The Imperial Mining Association—in which slaves are employed, that I consider them as guilty as the despised slave-dealers whom I saw in America, (hear, hear) We must condemn these things in high places, before we put down the evil. (Cheers.) If Daniel O'Connell had been present, I would have asked him a question. He and Theobald Matthew, with 60,000 of his countrymen signed an appeal to the Irish people in America, to join the anti-slavery ranks. I am told that the authenticity of his signature has been denied, and I should like to have ascertained it. Some Irishmen when they get the other side the atlantic are the most prejudiced against colour, and join the pro-slavery ranks. (Hear, hear.) I beg of my young friends to join in promoting, by every means in their power, the abolition of slavery throughout the world; and not only so, but every kind of oppression in this country, (cheers.) I do not wish to touch upon any matter not legitimately connected with the meeting. But we have systems in this country closely bordering on slavery (hear, hear); and I have feared there was something of a pro-slavery feeling, from which even abolitionists were not always exempt, that censured the working class and their advocates when demanding only their just and equal rights—(Cheers.) I can cordially unite in the sentiments of one of our poets when he says,

" 'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it."

(Cheers,) I can hardly sit down without very briefly noticing a remark which fell from Sir George Strickland, I wish I could have joined in the sentiment, that England all over the world, now and at all other times, retained her power by her moral influence. I would not have alluded to this subject, had not such a remark been made. I put it to any candid mind, whether the war in Afghanistan or China does not represent this country as any thing rather than christian—(Cheers.) But I am one of those who look to the bright side of the picture and I yet hope that we shall live to see the day, that, "wherever England's power is felt, mankind shall feel her mercy too (loud cheers).

The Rev. Dr. MILLER, of Rotterdam, in seconding the resolution said, this is a cause in which I have ever felt deeply interested. Can that individual who does not feel interested in it be loving his fellow-creatures as he loves himself? Is he not disobeying the law of his Maker, if he does not regard those who are in circumstances of distress as peculiarly the objects of his compassion and sympathy? Your efforts, however, will be required to put down slavery in the eastern part of the British empire, for, until you have done that, it will not become you to boast even of your past efforts—(Hear, hear.) In Holland the cause of immediate emancipation is progressing: of this I am fully persuaded. A committee was formed in Rotterdam a year and a half or two years ago, of which I am a member. There are also anti-slavery committees formed in Amsterdam, in the Hague, in Utrecht, and in Leyden, and they are desirous of uniting with each other in carrying out their object, (hear, hear,) and effecting the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. In Holland we must ask permission to form a society, even for benevolent or religious purposes; and we have petitioned the king to allow the consolidation of these anti-slavery committees. I have every reason to believe, that the prayer of the petition will be granted (applause), for I have ground for concluding, that the king desires the emancipation of the slaves in his colonies. The number of slaves in Surinam is 60,000; and the number in Java belonging to Holland, about 1500—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, in supporting the resolution, said, I am one of a few individuals who have seen the working of the slave system in the West Indies; I have also seen it in the East Indies, and examined it in the southern states of America. Having seen it in all these parts, I feel bound to declare that there is no difference between slavery as it existed in the West Indies and that which prevails in our East India possessions. (Hear, hear.) I hope my testimony will be received in confirmation of that of Judge Baber. But the most important point is the kind of remedy to be applied. There are two modes. The one governmental, the other belonging to the community. The government is all powerful, and could at any time cause slavery and the slave-trade to cease. Let it withdraw its countenance from every nation in which these evils exist. But there is one point within our own province—I refer to the east. The charter granted to the East India Company, gives them the power of abolishing it, but that charter has remained a dead letter. The idea of the company removing the evil is most delusive—what I ask is, that the people should do it. The complexion of a government depends on the House of Commons, and the complexion of the House of Commons depends on the community. I ask the community to take care, when the next election occurs, to pledge the members to vote for the alleviation of the miseries of the inhabitants of Hindostan (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. W. Knins then rose, and was received with reiterated bursts of applause. He moved

V. That this meeting feels that it has not only cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, that the act for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was carried into effect under circumstances which reflected the greatest honour on the negroes delivered from bondage thereby, but for warm congratulation that it has been followed by a rapid and vast improvement in their physical and moral condition; and that, if not interfered with by unjust legislation, by the partial administration of justice, and by the schemes of interested and unprincipled men, it cannot fail to result in the increased and permanent prosperity of these colonies, and greatly to advance the interests of the mother country.

That this meeting, whilst sincerely desirous that the interests of the proprietary body of the colonies may be advanced by all fair and legitimate means, will continue to oppose all schemes of theirs at variance with justice and humanity, all laws oppressive in their character, and all practices designed to coerce labour under a state of freedom.

That, grateful for past success, this meeting desires afresh to commend the anti-slavery efforts to the divine blessing, and exhorts its supporters everywhere to increased activity in this righteous cause.

If there was one sentiment that fell with a more deadening sound on my ears than another, in the whole of this discussion, to which I have listened with much attention, it was the one that fell from the lips of Dr. Lushington (cheers), when he asserted that in the English House of Commons slavery palled upon their taste. I thought that a severer rebuke, or one more calculated to sink that legislative body in the esteem of the wise and the just, could not possibly have been uttered. I most earnestly hope that that legislative body, if they wish to have the respect of those whose respect is worth obtaining, will, by some act of theirs, show that, if that rebuke in past days, or even now is just, it will no longer attach to it. I should almost feel disgraced in bearing the name of a Briton, if I could believe that, because there was something to be done for the miseries, the woes, the tears, and the blood of men—not for its removal, but because it was implored to be removed—it was a palling subject—(Hear, hear.) I sincerely trust that, if this be the case, the people of England will show that they are not contented with such a state of things—(Cheers.) For myself, I have little hope from any thing, except it be from Christian effort. I know perfectly well—from a residence of seventeen years in a slave colony—that every thing that is not based on the principles of this society will most assuredly fail. If, however, we can but obtain the concurrent effort of those who feel interested, not merely in the freedom of earth, but in freedom eternal in the skies, soon the last despot shall lift his hand, and the last slave shall be free—(Loud cheers.) I did intend to remove the impression from this meeting—if the impression does still exist—that the want of that sweet article, sugar, is to be ascribed, as has been asserted by honourable persons in public prints, to a disposition in the minds of the labourers not to work except for exorbitant wages. For the last two days I have spent my time in going through the statements upon that subject, given by slave-owners themselves. I assert—and I defy contradiction—that the negroes work for a less sum than their masters said they ought to work for. If I could not prove this by a reference to evidence given in the House of Commons by Jamaica planters—if I could not prove it by the records of all the courts where valuations were made, and sworn to on oath by the planters—if I could not prove this by every official document which has reached this country, I would submit to all the degradation of pronouncing that which was false. If then this is the case—and such it is—if the same amount of labour is now performed by the negro for £3. 8s., which the planters themselves deposed upon oath they never could get, and never wished to get, under £4. 10s., then I say that I have proved that which I had asserted. I have taken the hardest, the most difficult of plantation labour, and I have taken the plantation of R. Scott, Esq., because his property is in the parish where I live. He asserted in the House of Commons, that, when they paid job labour in the island of Jamaica, they always paid £7. 10s. currency per acre, for digging the cane holes; and that it would not be considered dear, if it was done at £10, old money, which is £6 sterling. Now I can prove that what the negro demands for digging 2800 cane holes—which is the number in an acre—is not £6 sterling, but £3. 8s.—(Loud cheers.) However I am well aware that there are other circumstances connected with this discussion than that to which I have referred. But, as the demand in the House of Commons for emigration proceeds upon the principle, that work on fair and legitimate terms cannot be obtained, I have thought it right, and still think it right, to assure you, that from the last documentary evidence that has been presented to Parliament, I could cull from all the special magistrates' reports, without one exception, a confirmation of this truth. The fact is, it is not because the people do not wish to work that the present state of things exists—but because the masters have no money to pay. I wish those who are interested in West India property would just come and see for themselves. I wish they would see what reductions might be made, not in the poor man's wages, but in the costly expenditure connected with the old slave system. There might be a reduction in a great many things to which I could refer; but it is not my business to take care of the slave-owners' property. It is my duty, a duty devolved upon me by the position in which I stand, to take care that the poor man is not cheated, and I intend to take care of him—(Loud cheers.) I should like to have referred to that rapid and growing intelligence, combined with industry, sobriety, and honesty, which is walking in all its loveliness, throughout the island of Jamaica. But I am fearful that a just description of this would be considered romance and fancy. Allow me, however, to read one extract from a letter, sent to Sir Charles Metcalfe by a special magistrate. "If it were possible adequately to describe the rapid improvements which have taken place, and the wonderfully ameliorated condition of society generally, since the advent of freedom, the readers at a distance might be disposed to ascribe even a faithful representation to an attempt to practice on their credulity"—(Cheers.) If such statements as these are presented to his Excellency the governor—

if they have received the official stamp of government—if the whole returns testify that, for fair and equal wages, the negroes are disposed to work; I do implore this respectable assembly not to allow their souls to be harrowed up by the bloody and murderous system of European emigration. I have witnessed scenes with respect to this which I shall never forget. I have seated myself, by the side of a poor deluded Irish emigrant, though of a different religion to myself, and in the absence of one whom he considered his only spiritual guide, he was glad to receive temporal and spiritual consolation from myself. I have stood by his side, when in the deepest depths of poverty, joined to despair, and on a bed covered with rags, he has breathed his last, a dupe to this infernal scheme—(Hear, hear.) In circumstances which I could not mention to this respectable audience, have the victims of this accursed plan been hurried into eternity. I declare, without the least fear of being contradicted—and if the House of Commons think that I cannot prove it, let them call me as a witness to their bar—(Loud cheers.)—I declare that there have been scenes in Jamaica, within the last two years, unequalled in atrocity by all the abominations connected with the foreign slave-trade. I say this not on account of the number; but when I think of the manner in which these poor deluded people came—when I think that comfort was the lot of some before they left their homes, and that I have stood by their bed-sides, where poverty, disease, and starvation have combined to hurry them from the world—when I have seen the misery, and the last gasp of breath, and have had the office of consigning them to the tomb—I implore on behalf of Ireland that she be rescued from a system which entails misery on all who go, and must bring down the just judgments of God—(Hear, hear.) So convinced was Sir C. Metcalfe of this, that at his request I interfered. I know his Excellency thought I could not prove what I had asserted with respect to one estate; but an investigation was ordered. Mr. Kelly, a special magistrate, was invited to Spanish Town, and his evidence was taken, but it was so abominably filthy that it was suppressed. I have it, however, and the world shall have it too—(Hear, hear.) If it is necessary to state how I obtained it, that shall be done, for on that subject I care for no individual that breathes on earth—(Cheers.) It is but the other day that I went to one of the jails in Jamaica. I dare say a great many people will say, I had no business there—(Laughter.) I have business every where where tyranny dwells—(Cheers.) I saw in that jail a poor Irish girl, seventeen years of age, fed upon the coarsest corn meal, without coffee or tea, or any thing but water. Seeing her there, I inquired what was her crime; she told me that she had been hired by Mr. Hylton at £8 per year, and that her food was to be found her; when he had taken her seventeen miles up the country, he told her that he would only give her £6—(Hear, hear.) She was one of the unfortunate victims who went out in the *Robert Kerr*. For refusing to work for £6, what did the chief magistrate do? He called two of his brother magistrates into his house to dine, and after dinner they held a court in his house, and sentenced this poor Irish girl, who had not been in the island three weeks, to pay a fine of three pounds, or, in default of finding goods upon which it could be levied, to imprisonment for fourteen days—(Loud cries of hear, hear.) The moment I saw her I said, I will pay the money, and you come out—(Loud cheers.) That poor girl had been walked barefooted seventeen miles under a burning sun to a jail, in which she was placed for fourteen days, in the midst of a deadly miasm. I had her taken care of in the mission-house. I said to the jailer, give me a copy of her commitment; he replied I dare not do it; what would the magistrate say? I answered, I don't care whether you durst or not, but you shall; you know that every person has a right to a copy of their commitment, and I demand it in behalf of this poor girl—(Loud cheers.) And here it is—"Whereas Eliza Kennedy, an immigrant, located on Retirement, the property of Thomas Ricketts Hylton, Esq., has been convicted before us, David Mason, sen., and David Mason, jun., esquires, two of her Majesty's justices of the peace, for the parish of Westmoreland, of refusing"—mind, how logical they are—"to do the duty she had agreed upon to perform to the said Thomas Ricketts Hylton, and has been sentenced to pay a fine of £3 sterling, or, in default of goods to levy upon, to fifteen days in the house of correction, agreeable to the act to encourage immigration to this island, &c.—(Loud laughter.) And whereas no goods to levy on have been found; these are in her Majesty's name." I thought my first duty was to tell the governor about this. I wrote to Daniel O'Connell, but I think the post-office stopped the letter. You shall have the governor's reply—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult. Inquiry will be made into the circumstances of the case therein reported, and, pending the receipt of the result, the governor suspends his judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned. But, whatever the causes may have been, his Excellency deeply laments that a young female, immediately after her arrival in this island, should have been subjected to a fine which she could not be expected to pay, and to the consequent degradation and danger of imprisonment. He requests you to accept his thanks for your generous interference in paying the fine, and rescuing the unfortunate prisoner from confinement, and begs leave to transmit herewith the amount of the expense which he understands you to have incurred upon that occasion"—(Loud cheers.) I say honour to whom honour is due, (renewed cheers) and I shall feel pleasure in referring more than once to the kindness the governor has manifested to these poor deluded creatures. I only regret that in the last despatch, on leaving the colony, he has still recommended, under certain conditions, a new trial of this emigration scheme; and, if he had not done this—if the whole of his official weight had not been thrown into the scale, I should not have stated some circumstances, which duty now compels me to lay before you. I have here an account of emigration to different parishes. I wish you to understand that I have been there, mine is no hearsay evidence, that I have gone to the bedside of these poor victims, and I have endeavoured to smooth their passage to the tomb. On Hyde Hall estate, between March and July, twenty-one emigrants arrived, six with wives and children, the rest single men; in November the same year twelve of the men and women were dead, four of the children were dead, six of the widows and orphans were shipped by the kindness of an individual for America, five were in the hospital and three remained fit to work. On the 19th April, four persons from Ireland were situated at Glamorgan, and these estates are not on the plain, they are in the mountain,—the man, the woman, and three children were dead by the 10th of June. The other day I went to

another estate at Edington. I saw on that estate, to the windward of Dundee, two Irish families from London. On one bed, without a rag to cover them, lay the father vomiting blood, on the same bed lay two children, one four and the other two years of age, in a corner of the room lay a girl of fourteen, ill with ague and fever, and the mother had not a farthing to support any of them—(Loud cries of hear, hear). In the next room which I visited, after having prayed with this poor Irishman, and done something else for him, for it is of no use to attend to the soul if you do not take care of the body—(Hear, hear) I saw another Irishman on his death bed. I wrote to the governor, telling him that the only alternative was the removal of the survivors back to England or their death. The governor wrote back and I have his letter,—it is to this effect. "If these are the only means, take a passage for the whole, and I will pay the expense let it be what it may." (Loud Cheers.) I returned to these poor people with the joyful tidings, but, though a vessel was to sail in ten days, three of the parents were dead, and two of the children! There were three orphans whom I sent in a carriage to my own house; one died before it had been there six hours, the other two are in the Nasmal school, and they are supported by his Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe—here is the letter with which he sent me the money—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter," says the secretary, "of the 8th instant, and to transmit herewith a check for £30., being the amount stated, to be sufficient for the board and education of three orphan children for one year." One being dead, I told the governor there were plenty of others, and I should soon find one. I aver that I can prove that the Irish emigrants have not only been deceived, but starved to death; I aver that I can prove that a mother has lain with her two children beside her, the one ten years of age and the other an infant dying at her breast, while her other daughter has been weeping over the putrid remains. I aver I can prove, that my poor fellow-creatures are subsisting on what is called Spanish needles, what is given to feed rabbits, mixed with water; that starvation, misery, spoliation, and death is the result of this accursed new slave-trade. I speak strongly because I have a right so to speak—(Cheers.) A body of these poor Irishmen came to me, and our pockets ought to be fuller than Baptists pockets usually are (laughter) to supply all the demands that are made, and implored me to do something for them—What can I do? Oh, get us out of this country. Another poor man said, "I will walk a mile on my knees to thank you, if you can get me out of this place." A woman who landed in 1835, assured us that she came out with 150 emigrants, twenty of whom returned home, and all the rest were dead. Let those who are carrying on this plot in reference to the West Indies hear these facts, they certainly shall through the public press—(Cheers.) I would implore that a ship be immediately freighted by the British government, it cannot be better employed, to fetch home these emigrants. Let them throw their guns overboard, and put up hammocks for the dying. I hope there are spirits in this country that will assist me in carrying out this object. I hoped that Daniel O'Connell would have been here, and I would have asked his aid on behalf of his countrymen. There are a few withered creatures left—there are a few orphans and widows, and I implore that no time be lost in fetching them home again. I am sure that if you could see them, you would not want the eloquence of Daniel O'Connell to convince you of the atrocity of European emigration. Emigration even from Africa, though it may not be so fatal in its effects, will be quite as abominable in its principles—(Hear, hear). My hope is that they will not be able to obtain emigrants from Africa and, if I had nothing else to do, I would go there for the very purpose of telling them not to come—(Cheers.) I am happy to tell you that the last ship that came from Africa came in ballast, no emigrants would accompany her—(Cheers.) Perhaps some will say, how do you find these things out? Why we make it our business—(Laughter and cheers.) They have told us they have been grossly deceived, and they will not work for the paltry wages offered them. Is eighteen pence a day too much to toil twelve hours under a burning sun. Some will inquire how it is that sum enables them to supply themselves with so many comforts. Read the official reports, and you will find it is that numbers have joined the temperance society—(Cheers.) They will drink no rum, and many never taste animal food, except salt fish may be called so. It is because they occupy their spare time in the cultivation of their own land, and in rearing fowls and other things for the market. It is not because they obtain exorbitant wages.—The emigration from America is just as bad as from other parts. The coloured individuals that came from thence were all dead in twelve months—(Hear, hear). But leaving that subject, let me speak of some of the results of emancipation more especially with respect to the freeholders. Take St. Thomas in the Vale for one year, and also take Manchester, there is nothing like statistical facts because they hit hard—(Cheers.) I rejoice to speak of Manchester, because it is one of the parishes where the agents of the London missionary society have been most successful. In that parish, in the year 1838, there were four hundred and thirty-eight tax payers, you remember that was the year in which freedom was given. In 1841, there were one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six tax payers, so that, in that parish alone, the labouring population have realized sufficient property in three years to make one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight additional tax payers. In the western union alone, and I now refer to those who attend the congregations of Baptist ministers, since the advent of freedom, three thousand and seventy have purchased land, and paid for it thirty three thousand and thirteen pounds sterling: one thousand six hundred and eighty three have erected houses, and have paid for them forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds sterling. Were it necessary, which it is not, I could detain you for hours with statements of this kind. But I dare not conclude without reiterating the earnest cry from dying, starving emigrants in Jamaica, that yet suffer in that climate. Could you see them as I have beheld them, heart-broken, dying, and dead, you would implore her Majesty's government not to let a month pass without sending a vessel to bring the deluded victims back to the land of their fathers. Think you we are afraid of them competing with the negro? No; nor is the negro himself. He treats them kindly. One of my brethren saw the other day a deacon of his own church walking on the road-side, and a poor Irish emigrant was riding on a horse; his minister asked how that came to pass, his deacon replied, I saw him lying under a tree starving. I got off my horse and put him on, and I am walking by his side to take him home and give him something to eat—(Loud cheers.) I ask you whether he could have done more?—(Hear, hear). I ask you if a black man would

have been so treated if he had come to reduce wages here? No Irishman has perished, because the black man would, to the utmost of his ability, prevent it.—(Cheers.) I ask the meeting not to allow the government to be palmed upon by those who think they can reduce the negroes to serfs. They cannot, and they shall not, for we have a mountain top to which to flee. We have already suffered enough, they shall not extinguish the ethereal light which now beams in the islands of the West. Come what will, we will be free, and enjoy the blessing which God has given us—(Immense cheers.)

The BISHOP OF NORWICH seconded the resolution, which was then put and agreed to.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq. briefly moved, and the rev. W. KNIBB seconded,

VI. That the most cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the Most Noble the Marquis of Clanricarde, for kindly accepting the chair, and for his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom.

The resolution having been carried by acclamation, The CHAIRMAN acknowledged it, and the meeting then separated.

SPAIN.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO A FRIEND AT SEVILLE, IN REPLY TO OBJECTIONS TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, MADE AT A RECENT MEETING IN THAT PLACE.

Lisbon, Fifth Month 16th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Recollecting the objections which were advanced at Seville, to the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies, I proceed to answer them in such a manner as my present engagements and the want of documents at hand will permit. These inconveniences will be the less felt, as I intend to direct my remarks chiefly to the general features and great moral considerations of the subject, rather than to enter into details, which would require a lengthened argument and an extended illustration. I do not, however, doubt that a more minute examination of the nature and results of slavery and freedom, might be rendered at once highly interesting and instructive; and furnish fresh evidence of the truth, that both nations and individuals, in acting upon the principles of moral equity which require the abandonment of a system of coerced labour, would thereby promote the economical and commercial interests of a country, as well as its peace, happiness, and security.

I shall insert the questions proposed, with a small alteration in the words, before each of the answers. I intend adding a question which will be placed second in order, the reply to which is designed to meet the objection felt by many well disposed, but timid persons, to immediate emancipation.

Question 1. Can the government, in granting simultaneously to the negro the enjoyment of civil and political rights, guarantee to its white subjects in the colonies their lives and property?

Answer. The safety of thus conferring freedom appears to be established by the fact that, in every instance in which it has been effected by the authority of law, it has been attended with peaceful results. This was the case in the French West India colonies of Hayti and Guadeloupe, when the liberty of 400,000 slaves, which they contained, was decreed by the French convention in 1794. In 1829, the emancipation of 800,000 bondsmen in Mexico was accompanied with similar peaceful results. Lastly, the abolition of slavery in eighteen British colonies, containing 750,000 slaves, within the last few years, is a further and conclusive proof of the perfect safety of an act of general emancipation. The last mentioned circumstance derives, perhaps, additional value, from a consideration of the number of the white and free coloured persons in these colonies, as compared with that of the slaves, which was nearly as follows, viz., whites, 100,000, free coloured, 120,000, and slaves, 750,000.

I find that it is stated in R. de la Sagra's work on Cuba, that, in 1827, the number of whites, free coloured persons, and slaves, in that island were respectively, 311,051, 106,494, and 286,942.

If the increase in the two former classes have taken place in the same ratio as during the preceding period of ten years, they will now amount to about 410,000 whites, and 118,000 free coloured persons. It is understood, that, owing to great and constant importations from Africa, the slave population has in the same time been swelled to 600,000, or 640,000. Supposing this computation to approach in any degree to the truth, of which there can be but little if any doubt, it will be seen that the whites in Cuba bear a large proportion to the slave population. If the whole of the freemen in Cuba be compared in number with the slaves, it will be found that their difference is not very great; while, in the British colonies, those who enjoyed the blessing of freedom did not amount to one-third of those who were held in bondage.

In Porto Rico the population is thus stated in returns made to the Spanish government, for 1836—whites, 188,869; mulattos, free, 101,275; black, free, 25,124; slaves, 41,818. It will thus be seen that the slaves in Porto Rico did, not a few years since, amount to one-seventh part of the population of that island.

With a knowledge of the facts that have been stated relative to emancipation, and the present situation of the Spanish colonies, there can be no reasonable anticipation of danger to the white inhabitants from the emancipation of the slaves in these possessions. If, however, it should be urged as a pretext for the slave owner retaining his prey, that many of these victims of oppression have

been recently imported, and are therefore less fit for freedom than those who have been long in an European colony; I reply, that this is to admit an extensive violation of all law, and it would be a monstrous and cruel injustice to adduce the consequences of such a fact as a reason why freedom should not be conferred. The circumstance that great numbers of slaves are held as such without a legal tenure, should be regarded as another cogent argument for emancipation. These remarks, however, apply chiefly to the principle involved in the objection. It may be shewn, that on prudential grounds, there is no validity in this objection. In the important island of Hayti, not only had extensive importations of Africans taken place up to the period when the question of emancipation was agitated by the French convention; but the same spirit which overthrew the former government of France had led to attempts, on the part of the free coloured people, not without a sanction from the parent state, to seize those rights which had been hitherto withheld from them. This had led to acts of violence in which the slaves had been called to take a part, some on behalf of those tinged with their own complexion, and others for their white masters. At the proclamation of liberty, however, under such circumstances as these, all was peace, and the island enjoyed a large measure of prosperity until the fatal edict of 1792 arrived, by which it was sought, but in vain, to re-establish slavery.

The British island of Mauritius affords a more recent instance of freedom being simultaneously given to a large number of slaves, of whom more than one-half were imported Africans, owing to a shameful disregard of law in that colony. Mauritius, however, furnished no exception to the general peace and security which followed the introduction of freedom. In 1833, the number of slaves in Mauritius appears to have been 76,774, and the total population, including whites and free coloured persons, 101,469. If the white inhabitants be estimated at one-half of the whole free population, it will thus amount to between 12,000 and 13,000, being about one-sixth of the number of the slaves.

It may not be improper here to remark, that, if a government have sufficient force to keep a population of slaves of any description in subjection, *a fortiori* they can do this with a population comprising the same persons in a state of freedom; for enfranchisement does not increase the physical force of the negro, while it takes away one of the chief motives for rebellion. Enfranchisement does not mean exemption from the influence of legal authority. Every well constituted community has the right of punishing the promoters of disorder or violence. In being enfranchised, the amenability of the slave only passes from the arbitrary power of the owner to the steady and equitable authority of the law. An executive appointed by the state has a more beneficial and powerful influence, both moral and physical, than the authority of the slave owner, and is far less likely to provoke a population to acts of insubordination.

I think, then, it must be admitted, that any idea of danger from the slaves of Cuba or Porto Rico, by granting to them their natural rights, is in the highest degree unreasonable.

It is proper to observe, that the reply which has been given to the question under consideration refers almost exclusively to personal and civil rights. In reference to political rights, the friends of the negro only demand that he shall be subject, when emancipated, to the same qualifications as other citizens, whether these refer to intellectual attainments, pecuniary circumstances, or obedience to the law. Such an arrangement has been adopted in the British colonies, and has proved to be as safe as it is just.

Question 2. Is it not needful that the slave should be prepared for freedom, by training him to habits of industry, by instruction in the rudiments of knowledge, and by the inculcation of moral and religious duties?

Answer. It is not needful. Industry cannot indeed be reasonably expected, and will not be generally found to exist, so long as a just and adequate motive is not supplied by the payment of wages. Consequently, slavery, which withholds this stimulus to exertion, has a natural tendency to produce the opposite effect. An indisposition to labour is the result of slavery, wherever this unjust and impolitic system prevails. Under freedom it has been found that the habit of indolence has been relinquished, with the paralyzing influence by which it was caused and fostered. Testimonies might be very largely produced, to show that those who were once slaves in the British colonies have generally worked industriously when no longer coerced, in all those cases in which they have been fairly and properly treated. I quote the following passage from the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1836, appointed to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship in our colonies:—"In the evidence which they (the committee) have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages wherever they are fairly and considerably treated by their employers. It is, indeed, fully proved that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the negro is more effective than that which is obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the periods for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice."

The industry of the negro since entire emancipation has taken place, is such as might have been expected from the decisive character given in his favour during the apprenticeship. An evidence of this truth is afforded by the amount of the staple productions now raised in our colonies. About two-thirds of the quantity which was usual in the time of slavery has been exported, notwithstanding the increased consumption of these articles

by the emancipated negroes, the occurrence of unfavourable seasons, and the withdrawal of a considerable number of persons from field labour—principally women who are mothers of families, children who are now generally sent to school, elderly and infirm individuals, and others who, no longer chained to field-labour, are able to procure more advantageous employment. Such a loss of labour cannot be regretted by the philanthropist, or by those who take an enlarged view of the sources of commercial prosperity. The children will no longer perish in infancy from the want of a mother's care, but become future labourers in the colonies. These will be rendered more valuable than in the time of slavery, by the moral and religious culture which they receive. The limited number of adult male labourers who have exchanged field cultivation for other employments, may promote in an equal, or greater degree than before, the prosperity of the British colonies, while engaged in the production or sale of a great variety of articles for which a demand is created by the improved circumstances of the mass of the population. The case of Antigua, in which freedom has been longest established, affords the strongest evidence of its beneficial character in all respects. In this island the average exports have become considerably increased since the abolition of slavery. The fact of several thousands of emancipated labourers in Jamaica, and large numbers in Guiana, having purchased land, which could only be done by the fruits of their industry, is further satisfactory evidence on this point.

A state of slavery is no less unfavourable to the general improvement of the slave than to habits of industry. It will be at once perceived, and the master knows well, that, subjected to intellectual and moral culture, the negro, like any other member of the human family, becomes more sensible of his wrongs, less adapted for that brute-like state of passive submission which is required of him, and better qualified to avail himself of opportunities to secure his liberty. Hence the determined efforts of the planters in every country to retain their bondsmen in ignorance, from which, while in this state, it is impossible to elevate them. Under freedom these difficulties no longer exist, and the emancipated negroes have already made astonishing progress in knowledge, morality, and religion. Hence it is concluded that a preparation for freedom of the nature proposed in the question is impracticable, and altogether illusory.

(To be continued.)

WHITE EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—The deplorable condition of the unfortunate emigrants from Ireland, and likewise from this country, inveigled by false representations to emigrate to Jamaica, as represented by the rev. William Knibb at the recent anti-slavery meeting at Exeter Hall, it seems to us calls for immediate attention.

The conduct of Mr. Knibb, and the humane efforts of Sir Charles Metcalfe on behalf of those wretched creatures, are deserving of all praise; but to Irishmen in an especial manner the prompt and efficacious exertions of Mr. Knibb are entitled to the highest gratitude.

His proposal for the immediate removal of the miserable remnant of the body of these emigrants, should be carried into execution without loss of time. We, therefore, from the extreme urgency of the case, suggest to our friends, both in England and Ireland, that an immediate subscription be entered into for the purpose of accomplishing this object; at the same time, we would urge on the committees of the British and Foreign and the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Societies, the importance of memorializing government to give active assistance to the proposed measure, for removing the suffering from a scene which is deeply stained with the guilt of blood.

One of us, from actual experience in the West Indies, being practically acquainted with the evils of this system of European emigration; and the other, from the fullest knowledge of the mischief attendant on it at home, think ourselves especially called on to take active and immediate steps for effecting the proposed removal of these unfortunate people. We propose for this purpose that subscriptions be received by Mr. Joseph Soul, at 27, New Broad Street, London; Mr. Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; the rev. W. Bevan, Liverpool; Mr. John Dunlop, Edinburgh; Mr. W. Smeal, Glasgow; Mr. Joseph Eaton, Bristol; and by ourselves in Dublin. We are respectfully, &c. &c.

London, May 17th, 1842.

R. R. MADDEN,
RICHARD ALLEN.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 18TH.

WE have devoted our columns to-day almost entirely to a report of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which was held, according to announcement, at Exeter Hall, on Friday last. The attendance was very numerous, and the meeting, as a whole, most useful and gratifying.

The report of the Committee, which, to save the time of the meeting, was not read *in extenso*, will be found in full in our columns, and will amply repay perusal. So, indeed, will the entire proceedings, which we commend most earnestly to the attention of all friends to the abolition of slavery throughout the world. It will be observed that the last resolution announces the now matured design of a second Anti-slavery Convention, to be held in London on the 13th of June, 1843.

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